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...The...
Princess Pocahontas

PRINC: POWHATANI IMP VIRGINIÆ
MATOAKA ALS REBECKA FILIA POTENTISS
Ætatis svæ 21 Ao 1616
Matoaks alis Rebecka daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan Emperour of Attanoughkomouck alis Virginia converted and baptized in the Christian faith and Wife to the Wor! Mr Tho: Rolff

After the copy made by William L. Sheppard, from the original at Booton Rectory, Norfolk, England, for the State of Virginia.

COLONIAL VIRGINIA

BY

J. A. C. CHANDLER
AND T. B. THAMES

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COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE LOST COLONY OF ROANOKE ISLAND.

It is a far cry from San Salvador to Jamestown. More than a century elapsed after the discovery of the Western Continent by Columbus before a permanent settlement by the English was effected. As late as the beginning of the seventeenth century it looked as though Spanish preoccupancy was to remain unchallenged. Aside from a few hundred Spaniards at St. Augustine and Santa Fe, there were no white men to be found within the present limits of the United States. There had, however, been brave and frequent efforts to plant an English colony on the American shores. In spite of repeated disasters and bitter disappointments, it was never difficult to find Englishmen who were willing to make the bold venture. The spirit of the Crusaders lingered long after the Crusades were done with. The call of the South Sea, the golden dream of the Eldorado, the incessant dread of Catholic aggression and of Spanish encroachment, made it always possible to secure both men and means for every serious effort at colonization.

Five years after Columbus pointed the way to the new lands, John and Sebastian Cabot, sailing under the English flag, touched upon the shores of North America and claimed the new continent for England. Henry VII., to show his gratitude, presented to the Cabots the munificent gift of £10.

Frobisher and Gilbert bravely ventured into the cold and desolate regions of the extreme northern coast, each seeking a passage to the Orient. Later, Gilbert sought to secure the English in their claim to North America.

Drake, with dauntless and infinite piracy, "plowed a furrow around the world," compassing the western coast as far north as Oregon, naming it New Albion, and claiming it for England.

Raleigh, in superb faith and sacrifice, himself sent out two colonies. The first of these quailed before the dangers and desolations of the wilderness, and went back home. Of the second there remained only the undeciphered word "Crotoan," blazed upon a tree, to tell of the fatal tragedy that came upon the settlers in their lonely island home.

Gosnold, eschewing the older and more genial route by the Canaries, espoused the open sea, and blazed a new path across the ocean, saving a week's sailing time and shortening the route by a thousand miles.

Of these expeditions and attempts at settlement, those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh were the most serious and elaborate. These were half-brothers. Millais has a great picture called "The Boyhood of Sir Walter Raleigh." A veteran sailor is relating stories of strange seas and shores to two lads. In their eyes is a far-away look that compasses distance and undiscovered shores, and in their ears is the incessant call of the sea. One of these lads is Sir Walter Raleigh and the other is Sir Humphrey Gilbert, his half-brother.

Gilbert was a patriot, soldier and seaman, esteemed worthy of a place by the great Admiral Drake. There can be no doubt but that Millais's picture was suggested by the conferences that these two brothers must often have had together touching the finding and settlement of the American shores

In June, 1578, Gilbert got from Queen Elizabeth letters patent, authorizing him to make discoveries and to plant colonies in that part of the New World not occupied by any Christian prince. Several unsuccessful expeditions were made. However, in 1583, Gilbert sailed from Plymouth, England, with a fleet of five small ships, the largest of which, in honor of his half-brother, was named Raleigh. He was not long in reaching St. John's harbor, Newfoundland. Here he found thirty-six fishing vessels, the owners of which at first refused him permission to land, but on his showing the commission of his Queen they reluctantly yielded. Going immediately ashore he took possession of the land in the name of the crown of England.

The land was bleak, the climate was inhospitable, and for one reason and another the men soon fell sick, and finally they gave up the enterprise and returned to England.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert embarked in a "mere trivial yacht," called The Squirrel, of only ten tons burden. In it he explored the dangerous coasts of Cape Breton, and refused to leave the little vessel and the little company with whom he had passed so many perils. After having gone about three leagues from Newfoundland, the little vessel sprang a leak and made slow headway in the face of a furious storm. He insisted, however, that he must remain with his comrades, and when last seen he was sitting in the stern of the boat with a book in his hand, and cried repeatedly to the sailors in the Golden Hind, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." The captain of the Golden Hind reported that "about twelve of the clock suddenly the light of The Squirrel disappeared, and withal our watch cried out, 'Our general is cast away,' which was too true, for in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up in the sea." Thus perished one of the bravest forerunners of American colonization, and thus

failed one of the most daring ventures in the settlement of the new continent.

Raleigh was not discouraged by the failure and death of his brother.; In 1584 he secured from the Queen a charter with the right to establish colonies in any part of the New World. It seemed to him wise that exploring parties should be sent out to designate the places where it would be best to plant new colonies. He therefore sent out two ships to explore the coasts of North America, one commanded by Captain Arthur Barlow, and the other by Captain Philip Amadas. These two explorers crossed the ocean and landed on the shores of North Carolina, somewhere in the region of Cape Hatteras. They were greatly charmed with the country into which they had come. The Hatteras Indians proved most friendly and hospitable, and their King, Wingina, gave them a most cordial invitation to visit his land and people. On the acceptance of this invitation they were treated with marked hospitality, especially by the wife of the great chief. Of her it was said: "She was small, pretty and bashful, clothed in a leather mantle with the fur turned in. Her long, dark hair was restrained by a band of white coral; strings of beads hung from her ears and reached her waist."

These explorers were greatly impressed with the beauty and fertility of the land. The forests of pines, live-oak, tulip trees and tall cedars were filled with wild turkey and other game. The water seemed to be literally teeming with fish, crabs and oysters. On their return to England they reported that this new land far exceeded the land of old Canaan, and that it was more beautiful and fertile than the land which "flows with milk and honey." Their stay in the new country had been long enough for them to make friends with many of the Indians, and they carried back to England two natives by the names of Manteo and Wanchese.

Raleigh was delighted with the report that they brought back, and the Virgin Queen Elizabeth became enthusiastic, and in her own honor named the new country VIRGINIA.

As designated by Queen Elizabeth, Virginia was a broad expanse of territory, the boundaries of which were not definitely known. An old chronicler said: "The bounds thereof on the east side are the ocean, on the south lieth Florida, on the north Nova Francea; as for the west, the limits thereof are unknown."

In the meanwhile Sir Walter Raleigh was continually growing in favor at the court. The Queen was exceedingly fascinated with his gallant and courtly manners. About this time he was made a knight and became a member of Parliament. In order that he might have the means wherewith to realize his colonial schemes, the Queen granted him a monopoly of the tax on wine. Having thus secured the means, he determined to follow up the explorations already made by an effort to plant a colony in the New World. He entrusted the general management of the enterprise to the great English seaman, Sir Richard Grenville. Such was the interest in the effort to establish a colony that Grenville was accompanied by Thomas Cavendish, the distinguished navigator; Thomas Harriot, the best known mathematician of England, and John White, the artist, who drew the illustrations of the country that were used in DeBry's edition of Harriot's description of Virginia, known as "A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land in Virginia." This was the same John White who was afterwards made Governor of Raleigh's second colony. He made seventy-six pictures in water colors, of which twenty-three were engraved by DeBry. A visitor to the British Museum can see in the Grenville Library every one of these originals of priceless value.

Late in June, 1585, Roanoke Island, at the mouth of Albe-

marle Sound, was reached and selected as a place on which to plant the colony. There were one hundred and eight settlers. The Indian Manteo returned with them and at once announced to Wingina, the King of the Hatteras Indians, the arrival of his English friends.

After exploring the coast within a range of eighty miles, Grenville left the colony in charge of John Lane. Lane continued exploring even to Chesapeake Bay, and visited the present site of Norfolk. He was undoubtedly the first Englishman to view Hampton Roads and the surrounding country.

The colony of Roanoke Island never prospered. The colonists had come with the expectation that the fertility of the land would make work unnecessary. They had considerable trouble with the Indians, mainly on account of their own harsh and unjust treatment of them. With the lack of industry and of real purpose to remain in the new country, together with their spirit of enmity toward the aborigines, the failure of the colony was inevitable.

In the fall of the year they spied a fleet of twenty-three ships, which proved to be English sails under the charge of Sir Francis Drake, returning to England after a cruise in South American waters. Carrying out instructions that he had received from Queen Elizabeth, he was visiting the colonists to ascertain their condition and needs. So grave was the situation that he agreed with them that they should return with him at once to England. The houses were abandoned, but not destroyed. The colonists carried back with them tobacco, Indian corn and potatoes, three products of the American continent which were not known in England. Raleigh planted the potatoes on his estate in Ireland, and since that day they have become the chief food of the Irish people, and on this account they are commonly called "Irish potatoes."

Queen Elizabeth.

The use of tobacco soon came to be a fad in England, both among the men and women. The story is told that Raleigh persuaded the Queen to try a pipe of tobacco. After two or three puffs she became greatly nauseated, at which a number of maids of honor laughed, while others declared that Raleigh had poisoned the Queen. She soon recovered, however, and, in disgust with her ladies of the court, forced them all to undergo her experience. Another story is told that Raleigh wagered with the Queen that he could weigh the smoke which was expended from a pipeful of tobacco. The Queen accepted the wager, whereupon Raleigh weighed the tobacco, smoked it, weighed the ashes and declared that the smoke represented the difference. We are also told that one day while Raleigh was smoking in his room his servant came in bringing him a glass of ale. Seeing the smoke come from his master's mouth, he threw the glass of ale on his master, rushed out and gave the fire alarm. By the time of King James the First the smoking of tobacco became prevalent throughout all England. The King could not indulge himself without being made sick, and consequently became a strenuous opponent of the use of the weed, and wrote a violent and not very dignified book, "The Counter Blast," in which His Majesty declared that smoking was a vile offense against humanity and a curse to Christianity.

Raleigh refused to be discouraged even by the failure of his first colony beginning under such favorable auspices and having such fair promise of permanent success. In his far-seeing vision he took in always the possibility of an England in the New World, and he determined to make yet another attempt. So it fell out that in 1587 he sent out three other vessels, with John White as governor, with instructions to plant a colony on Chesapeake Bay or on the Elizabeth River. If these instructions had been carried out, Raleigh's second

colony would have been planted at Sewell's Point, near the spot where the Jamestown Exposition Company is to commemorate the first permanent settlement of 1607.

Unfortunately for the colonists, their pilot took them back to Albemarle Sound, and after some debate, it was reluctantly concluded to plant there the second time a colony on Roanoke Island. This expedition was composed of men, women and children. A short time after they landed, the governor's daughter, Eleanor, gave birth to the first English child born in America. She was christened "Virginia" in honor of the new country. Just a week before the christening of Virginia, Manteo had been baptized into the Christian faith, doubtless the first trophy of the Christian religion from among the aborigines of America.

In a little while the colonists were at war with the Indians, and the large store of supplies that they had brought with them, under bad management, was dwindling perceptibly. It was thought best that Governor White should at once return to England for additional supplies. He went away, leaving on the island eighty-nine men, seventeen women and eleven children.

White was gone for three years. On his return to England he found Raleigh, Grenville and Lane gathered about the Queen in earnest and urgent preparation for Spanish invasion. In the midst of such engagements and excitements Raleigh, in his abundant enthusiasm, found time to form a company for prosecuting the purpose of maintaining an English colony in America. Among those interested in this company were Sir Thomas Smith, afterwards the treasurer of the London Company, and Richard Hakluyt, Dean of Westminster, and author of a celebrated book of voyages. With two ships White was dispatched under the auspices of this new company with supplies for Roanoke Island. Unfortunately his

ships fell in with privateers and, after a bloody engagement, were disabled and compelled to return to England.

The Spanish Armada was so imminent that no further thought could be given to the lonely colonists on the Island of Roanoke. Neither men nor ships could be spared for other enterprises; all were needed, and at once, to meet the coming Armada. Drake, Grenville and Lane, and others interested with them in the schemes of colonization, were conspicuous in that great naval conflict. When the Armada was defeated, and England's supremacy on the sea established, thought was immediately given to the settlers at Roanoke Island. Meanwhile three years had passed and no word had come from them and no word had gone to them. But with such dispatch as the confusion of the times permitted, Raleigh and White organized a relief expedition and sent ships and supplies to the rescue of the lonely settlers. When the expedition reached the island there was nowhere to be seen any sign or token of the colonists. Houses were in ruins and covered with vines. Around the doors grew vegetation which indicated that for a year at least the colony had been abandoned. Before leaving for England it had been agreed between White and the colonists that should it be found necessary to abandon the settlement before his return they should leave a mark on a tree by which he might know whither they had gone. It was understood that a cross would be the sign that they had left the colony in distress. He searched over the island and at last upon a tree he saw plainly graven the word "Croatan." There was, however, no cross to indicate that they had left in distress. After a rather desultory search of the neighborhood he returned home, reporting that the colony was lost. As a matter of fact, no really serious or diligent search was ever made for the lost colonists. Raleigh sent out, indeed, all told, five expeditions, but they only came to the immedi-

ate neighborhood of Roanoke Island, and made neither a wide nor a thorough search for their lost countrymen. "Croatan" therefore remains an undeciphered word; no man knows what was in the mind of the settler who carved it in the live-oak tree on Roanoke Island. If the island had been swallowed up by the sea this colony could not have been more completely lost to human sight and kin. History will probably never relate what became of these brave men and women. Indians, however, reported to the first settlers of Jamestown their knowledge of the paleface to the south. Some creditable historians believe that through the veins of the Croatan Indians of North Carolina flows the blood of Raleigh's settlers, and maintain that the settlers, forsaking their island home, were adopted by the Croatan Indians, and after a while intermarried with them. It is not improbable, therefore, that among the survivors of that old tribe are some to-day who are the descendants of Virginia Dare, the first English child born on American soil.

The State of North Carolina has not been unmindful of the historical significance of Raleigh's attempt at settlement within its borders. Its capital city is named after this great English statesman; and upon the site of old Fort Raleigh there has been erected a monument commemorating this great, if unsuccessful, enterprise. Upon the monument is written this inscription:

> "On this site in July-August, 1585 (O. S.), colonists, sent out from England by Sir Walter Raleigh, built a fort, called by them 'The New Fort in Virginia.'
>
> "These colonists were the first settlers of the English race in America. They returned to England in July, 1586, with Sir Francis Drake.
>
> "Near this place was born, on the 18th of August, 1587, Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born in America, daughter of Ananias Dare and

Eleanor White, his wife, members of another band of colonists, sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587.

"On Sunday, August 20, 1587, Virginia Dare was baptized. Manteo, the friendly chief of the Hatteras Indians, had been baptized on the Sunday preceding. These baptisms were the first known celebrations of a Christian sacrament in the territory of the thirteen original United States."

None of the early English efforts at colonization were altogether failures, for each of them contributed something to the world's wider knowledge, and made more sure the ultimate success that followed. Together they constituted that inevitable John the Baptist, whose voice crying in the wilderness, and whose hands casting up the King's highway, prepared the way for the coming of larger dispensation.

This chapter must not be dismissed without an added word concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, the prophet and apostle of American colonization. Concerning him, Canon Kingsly said, "To this one man, under the providence of God, the whole United States of America owe their existence."

First and last, he spent upon these efforts at colonization forty thousand pounds, which, in his day, was no mean fortune. For this there was no return except the satisfaction that his efforts made more possible the realization of the dream that had been the inspiration of his life. His mighty heart beat responsive to the great times in which he lived. It was the era of the renaissance in literature, of reform in religion and of commercial enterprise and adventure. Canon Farrar says most beautifully of this period, "The glory of England in that day was as when the aloe rushes into its crimson flower." The flower of chivalry, of letters, of the arts and sciences, was breaking into the imperial bloom of the Elizabethan day. This atmosphere was congenial to Raleigh's great spirit, and

he stood conspicuous in that splendid coterie that gathered about the Elizabethan court. In him gathered at once the refinements, the culture, the high moral earnestness, the chivalry and daring of his unequaled day, and to him, as to no other man, came clear, full and steadfast, the vision of a new England, representing and perpetuating the old England upon the western shores beyond the sea.

In him came all the contrasts and paradox of life. If there was to him a bright and glorious day, there was also a long and dark night. If in the noonday of his splendid career "he was a man at whom men gazed as at a star," in the evening he staggered toward the infinite night, a lonely man, decrepit and discredited.

In the reign of James I. he was unjustly accused of treason, and imprisoned for a number of years. During this time he wrote his "History of the World," and constantly urged the colonizing of America. In 1618, eleven years after the settlement of Jamestown, he was executed. With a single day's notice he went forth to his execution, not reluctant or afraid.

On the morning of his execution he was visited by his wife and a number of his friends. They were slow to leave, so Raleigh dismissed them, saying, "I have a long journey to make, therefore I must take my leave of you." When they had departed he turned to the executioner and asked if he might see the ax. The headsman hesitated, whereupon Raleigh said to him calmly: "Let me see it. Dost thou think I am afraid of it?" Having passed his fingers across the blade, he calmly remarked: "It is a sharp medicine, but one that will cure all of my diseases." He then walked to the scaffold and said to the executioner: "When I stretch forth my hands, dispatch me." Thereupon he quietly laid his head upon the block, with his face to the east, and

stretched forth his hands. The executioner was so unnerved that he either did not observe Raleigh's action, or was unwilling to proceed with the execution. Raleigh again stretched forth his hands, and still the executioner made no motion. Then Raleigh cried, "What dost thou fear? Strike, man! strike!" At last the executioner raised the ax and with one stroke severed from the body the head of England's polished courtier and far-seeing statesman.

Raleigh had proposed England's colonial policy and had lived to see the establishment of a successful colony. In the very year that he was executed the London Company had reorganized, and was preparing to give to Sir George Yeardley, as Governor of Virginia, instructions which were to result in the establishment of the first legislative assembly in America; instructions broad enough in their scope to pave the way for an American democracy.

In the Tercentennial Commemoration of 1907 Raleigh will not be forgotten. The Daughters of the American Revolution are planning to place on Jamestown Island a reproduction of Hayes-Barton, the birthplace of Raleigh, whom Dean Stanley has designated as "The Father of the United States."

Some years ago, under the direction of Canon Farrar, there was placed in Westminster Abbey a memorial window, given by Americans, to commemorate this brilliant statesman and his great labors on behalf of American colonization. On this window was inscribed the following lines from James Russell Lowell, the American Minister at the Court of St. James:

"From England's breast we drew
Such milk as bids us remember whence we came.
Proud of her past, wherefrom our present grew,
This window we inscribe with Raleigh's name."

CHAPTER II.

A GREAT TRUST—THE LONDON COMPANY.

The efforts at colonization made by Gilbert and by Raleigh showed that the task was too large and grave to be discharged by individual resource. The failures of Raleigh especially emphasized that the planting of colonies should not be undertaken by individuals. Soon it began to be conceived that what might not be done by an individual might be achieved by a corporation. Thus early in the development of our civilization came the suggestion of a trust or combine, the last and consummate flower of which we have in these days.

The proposal of a great commercial company for colonizing and christianizing the New World, when suggested in England, was seized upon with exceeding avidity. It seems as though the spirit of daring and adventure, hitherto expressed in other ways, sought now to find expression in the great commercial and colonizing schemes. The conception of trading companies developed from an idea indigenous to English soil and multiplied most rapidly in Holland, France, Sweden, Denmark, and even in Scotland and Russia. An incomplete list will show that from the years 1554 to 1698 there were in these various countries not less than seventy of these companies chartered for commercial and colonizing purposes. Usually the companies were organized with regard both to colonizing and to commerce. The two ideas were mutually dependent, the success of one carrying with it the success of the other. According to exigency, therefore, emphasis was put upon the

one or the other idea as circumstances seemed to require. These companies were awarded by the crown certain privileges of trade, grants of territory and rights of government, subject to such scrutiny and modifications as the government might afterwards seek to impose. The returns to the crown were to be in certain tributes, increase of commerce and extension of territory.

Of the English chartered companies, for wealth, scope of operation and influence, stability and permanency, the East India Company was the most conspicuous. It received its charter from Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and was given an absolute monopoly over trade in all countries lying between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. The charter was granted to over one hundred and twenty-five stockholders, and its government was placed in the hands of a governor, deputy governor, and twenty-four members of a directing board to be chosen annually by the stockholders in their general assembly or court. This company is of importance in relation to Virginia because its charter was closely followed by King James. Moreover, the British East India Company was the most remarkable trading and colonizing company that the world ever saw. It conquered all of India for England, laid the foundation of great wealth for British merchants, and was not finally dissolved until 1874.

Before the last failure of Raleigh's efforts the idea of chartering a company to colonize Virginia occurred to him, and to that end he effected an organization for carrying out his scheme. He turned over to it part, if not all, of the rights and concessions that he had secured from the Queen. Somewhat later than this a more serious and general movement occurred looking to a chartered company organized more nearly along the lines of the East India Company and other companies then in existence. To encourage this movement there

appeared an exceedingly able and effective document, supposed to have been inspired and written by Mr. Hakluyt. The paper set forth "Reasons or motives for raising of a publique stocke to be imploied for the peopling and discovering of such countries as maye be founde most convenient for the supplie of those defects which this realme of England most requireth." Concerning the necessity for such an organization, the paper makes this cogent statement: "Private purces are cowld compforts to adventurers, and have ever ben founde fatall to all interprices hitherto undertaken by the English, by reason of the delaies, jealocies and unwillingnes to backe the project which succeeded not at the first attempt."

The success of a similar scheme organized in Holland is cited as an example of what might be done under English auspices: "The example of the Hollanders is verie pregnante by a maine backe or stocke having effected marvelous matters in traffique and navigacon in a few years." The real argument of the paper is that England, to keep abreast with other nations of the world, will have to build up her commerce, and that England's chances for colonial dominions yielding large revenues would be cut off if France and Spain are allowed to monopolize the American lands. The result of colonizing would mean that the "merchandize increasing thereby, the realme will be inriched yearly by manie thousand pounds, and the King's imposte and customs increased." Very adroitly does the paper seek to insinuate the scheme into the King's favor: "It would savour too much of affectacon of a popular state to levie monies without imparting some convenient portion to His Majestie. That portion ought not to be smale that it should seame to undervalue the King's greatness and favour." Wise Mr. Hakluyt.

Finally, in the year 1606, the King granted a charter to two companies known as the London and Plymouth Companies,

it being understood that the sphere of operation of the Plymouth Company should be in northern Virginia, and that of the London Company should be in southern Virginia, it being stipulated that the southern boundary of northern Virginia should come to the Potomac River, and that the northern boundary of southern Virginia should reach as far as the Hudson River. In other words, the lands between the Hudson and Potomac Rivers were assigned to both companies, with the proviso that the company last planting a colony should not come nearer than one hundred miles of any settlement previously founded by the other company.

The charter of the London Company was granted by name to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt and Edward-Maria Wingfield. All of these save Hakluyt came at one time or another to Jamestown. Wingfield came as president of the council of the first colony; Gates as first absolute governor, in 1609, and Somers as admiral. Gates lived in Virginia, possibly at Jamestown, from 1611 to 1614. Hakluyt was prebendary of Westminster, and remained in England to encourage the adventurers. He published many accounts of the voyages by others to the New World.

The charter of the Plymouth Company was granted to Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, Thomas Hamhan and George Popham. Raleigh Gilbert was a son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and a nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh. William Parker was a rich merchant of Plymouth. The incorporators of this company set themselves immediately about the work of organization. The Plymouth Company worked with more dispatch, and in May, 1606, sent out a colony which was planted near the mouth of the Kennebec River. Here they immediately built a fort, storehouse, church, and a few cabins in which to live. There was instituted immediately furious

and futile search for gold and silver. Their storehouse was consumed with fire. The winter was exceedingly severe and hard upon these unacclimated settlers, all too poorly housed and fed. In the course of the winter Captain Popham died. On the opening of spring there came a ship from England bringing further supplies, but it also brought the tidings that Chief Justice Popham, who was the chief sponsor for the colony, and that Raleigh Gilbert's elder brother, to whose estate he was heir, were both dead. These tidings, added to the trials and sufferings of the severe winter, seemed to furnish sufficient reason for abandoning the attempt at settlement, and Gilbert, with all the settlers, returned immediately to England. This was the only serious attempt ever made by the Plymouth Company.

Meanwhile the London Company had not been idle in its efforts to prepare an expedition for southern Virginia, and by December, 1606, three ships were equipped for the voyage on the ocean. The Susan Constant, of one hundred tons burden, was commanded by Captain Christopher Newport, and was the flagship of the little fleet, for Captain Newport was in charge of the expedition. The Goodspeed, of forty tons burden, was commanded by Bartholomew Gosnold, who had persuaded Gates, Somers, Hakluyt and Wingfield to secure a charter from the King. The Discovery was only of twenty tons burden, and was commanded by John Ratcliffe. There were one hundred and five settlers, besides the crews of the several ships. These sailed from England on the last day of December, 1606. These little vessels proved to be the advance guard of an infinite argosy plying between the shores of the Old World and of the New.

The story of the London Company is one of significance and thrilling interest. From a purely mercenary beginning, however, accompanied with other motives, there was a steady

evolution and flowering toward a most high and unselfish patriotic motive and desire. In carrying out its great schemes it came to be one of the most potent agencies of modern times in widening and establishing human liberty. Its history is, therefore, the story of a long struggle toward larger rights and liberty. The growth in membership, of interest on the part of the English people, of influence both at home and abroad, was slow, to be sure, but very real and substantial. Its membership represented all phases of English life. Prominent men in all learned professions as well as in mercantile and industrial life became leaders in the movement. Three different charters were granted to the company by the crown. In the enlargement of powers and increase of liberty each was in advance of the other.

The first charter, granted in 1606, gave small liberty to the colonists. The affairs of the company were to be managed by a council of thirteen residents in England and appointed by the King. The council in England was to appoint from the settlers a council in Virginia. The settlers were granted certain rights, such as the privilege of holding lands and trial by jury. Five offenses, and none other, were made punishable with death: murder, manslaughter, incest, rape and adultery, and no plea of benefit of clergy was allowable except in case of manslaughter. The right to the benefit of clergy for this particular crime existed in America down to the Revolution, and the person pleading it was punished by being burned in the hand. It was also decreed that an offender should be tried in the colony where he committed an offense, the violation of which principle was one of the causes of the American Revolution. All excesses, drunkenness or otherwise, should be punished. It was also decreed that, for five years at least, the adventurers should hold all land, products and returns from trade, mines, and so forth, in a com-

mon stock, and that there should be a treasurer or cape merchant to handle the goods and property of the adventurers. In matters of religion the Church of England was to furnish all the soul comforts that the colonists might require. This provision was probably wise, for had there been representatives of other phases of Christianity, strife and contention would have been inevitable.

A second charter, drafted by no other than Sir Edwin Sandys, was granted in 1609. The company was made into a great corporation, composed of some six hundred and fifty-nine of the most distinguished nobles, knights, gentlemen and merchants of England, and some fifty-six city companies of London. The prerogatives of the company and the liberties of the colonists were somewhat enlarged. Thomas Smythe was appointed treasurer, and the Earl of Southampton and fifty-one others were appointed a council resident in England. In this council were fourteen members of the House of Lords and thirty members of the House of Commons. This council had the right to make all regulations and to determine the form of government for the colony.

A third charter was granted in 1612, extending the boundaries of Virginia and fixing a weekly court to be held by the council in England, and four general courts a year of the company. One interesting clause of this charter was the privilege to establish lotteries for the promotion of the colony. All former privileges were reaffirmed, and the charter expressly stated that all laws were to be made by the company, and that in case of any question of the interpretation of the charter, the General Court should construe it liberally in favor of the company. It was under the operation of this charter that self-rule was obtained for the colonists. By the privileges of this charter the London Company finally established an assembly for the making of laws governing the

colonists. To the London Company, planted in the heart of London, under the shadow of the King's throne, must be accorded the glory of projecting the first legislative assembly on the new continent. Hitherto a proceeding like this had never been known. It is impossible to have imagined that such a thing could have occurred in any other European country, thus indicating how largely the idea of human rights had been developed among the English-speaking people.

During the struggle between James and Parliament, the London Company came to be, in view of the fact that so many of its members sat in Parliament, the arena in which was discussed and ventilated questions of public moment and interest. So popular did it become, so far-reaching its plans, so bold and frank its utterances, especially in matters touching the rights of the King, and so effective its influence upon all classes of English people, that the King finally grew suspicious of it and determined in some way to restrict the sphere of its operations, and failing in that, to abrogate the various charters by which it had the warrant of life.

In May, 1619, Sir Thomas Smythe, who had been appointed by the King a commissioner of the navy, requested to be relieved of the office of treasurer. Sir Edwin Sandys was elected as his successor. Sandys belonged to the Liberal party, and soon became very obnoxious to the King. It was at the election in 1620 that the King first showed a disposition to seriously meddle in the conduct of the affairs of the company. It was the intention of the majority of the company to retain Sir Edwin Sandys as treasurer, with whose administration they had every reason to be pleased. When the election was about to be taken, certain gentlemen from the King's household interrupted the proceedings. These gentlemen declared that the King was unalterably opposed to the re-election of Sir Edwin Sandys, and presented

four names from whom a selection was to be made. This interruption was received in a silence that foreboded the long struggle to death that was to come. It was first demanded that the King's messengers be sent out of the room during the discussion of these matters, but the Earl of Southampton said, with significant boldness, "Let them stay and hear what is said." Immediately there was a cry made for the reading of the charter. "The charter! the charter! God save the King!" When the charter was read, some one rose and said, "Mr. Chairman, the words of the charter are plain. The election of a treasurer is left to the free choice of this company. His Majesty seems to labor under some misunderstanding, and I doubt not these gentlemen will undeceive him." Upon this being reported to His Majesty there was not lacking the evidence that he was at once seriously surprised and greatly perturbed over the course things seemed to be taking. After a little delay, he sent back to the meeting a rather mollifying statement that he of course had no desire to restrict the company's choice to the names he had mentioned, although he would really prefer that they should choose the devil rather than Sir Edwin Sandys. When the meeting was again called to order, Sandys withdrew his name and refused to stand for re-election. On coming to a ballot the vote was taken on the names the King had sent in and on the name of the Earl of Southampton, which the opposition had substituted in Sandys's stead. The result of the ballot exposed an exceedingly meagre vote for the King's candidates, so small, indeed, that some one ventured to move that the ballot should be dispensed with and that the Earl of Southampton should be elected by acclamation. By the election of Southampton the company guarded against an open rupture with the crown, but at the same time elected a man as treasurer who would not change the policy of the company as it had been admin-

istered by Sandys. After Southampton's election the King's hostility became even more inveterate and aggressive. Nor was his hatred softened or soothed by the fact that in the Parliament which he had so summarily dismissed in 1622, there were more than one hundred members who were also members of the London Company, many of whom participated actively in its affairs.

In his search for charges that he might use against the company, and that would give him an excuse for the abridging or the abrogating of these powers, a gentleman by the name of Nathaniel Butler, who had been holding some official position in the Bermudas, came to his assistance. This voluble gentleman had been summoned home to answer charges concerning his official conduct in the Bermudas, and it well behooved him to becloud the political horizon so that in the confusion attention might be turned otherwise than upon himself. On his way home from the Bermudas he stopped in Virginia for a few months. It so happened that his visit fell at the time of the Indian massacre in 1622, and his services as a soldier were called into requisition. On reaching England he immediately gave out certain utterances unfavorable to the Virginia Colony and damaging to the administration of the London Company. The charges were made at length and given wide publicity. There were at that time resident in London a number of Virginians intimately acquainted with the affairs of the colony. These filed answers to the charges in the way of affidavits and other positive asseverations, denying in toto and in detail the charges. These replies were not accepted by the crown, however, and the opponents of the company as being at all satisfactory; but the King at once appointed a commission, made up of gentlemen known to be in opposition to the company, to report upon the condition of its affairs. Some of these commissioners went

to Virginia and undertook, by means fair or foul, to secure evidence that should corroborate the accusations of Butler. They went before the Assembly seeking an official utterance upon the matter, even begging that the Assembly should ask for the abrogation of the charter of the company. Unfortunately for the commission, Sir Thomas Argall was a member of it, and of his misrule and misconduct the members of the General Assembly had a very distinct recollection. The commissioners found at the hands of the General Assembly no encouragement whatever. Indeed, there was immediately sent from Virginia a commissioner who bore a message to the King that the colonists were entirely satisfied with the London Company's administration, and that rather than return to the conditions as they had existed when Sir Thomas Smythe was treasurer, at which time the governors had been appointed by royal favor, they asked that the King would send out commissioners and have them hanged. Before this appeal from Virginia reached England two things had been done. The accusations of Butler had been formally and officially laid before the company, with the demand that an answer not later than the following Monday be returned, the day of the official notice being Thursday of Holy Week, 1623. Nicholas Ferrar, to whom the notice was handed, protested that sufficient time had not been given for a proper and adequate answer, but the crown and officials insisted that the answer must be forthcoming not later than Monday. Ferrar got together as many members as was possible that afternoon in his mother's parlor. The task of framing the answer was assigned to Lord Cavendish, Nicholas Ferrar and Sir Edwin Sandys. Their answer was masterful and irrefutable, but little difference did it make to the King, bent upon the destruction of the company. Moreover, the Attorney-General had advised the crown that it would be wise and

proper to take away the charter of the company, and suggested that quo warranto proceedings be immediately filed. When the notice of these proceedings came to the officers of the company, in their distress they appealed to Parliament, which had just been reassembled by the King. The petition filed by the company was looked upon favorably by many members of the House of Parliament. The King anticipated any action on their part, however, by sending a message calling the attention of Parliament to the fact that the business of managing colonies belonged to the King and his Privy Council, and that it was none of their affair, and that there must be no meddling on their part. While the Parliament was sympathetic with the company in its effort to save itself, it was too much concerned in other grave matters, and felt that it could not afford to have any lengthy imbroglio with the crown. So it fell out that Parliament took no action, except to lay the appeal on the table. The quo warranto proceedings were then rushed to a swift conclusion. The Chief Justice, before whom the matter was carried, ruled against the company and in favor of the King, as everybody anticipated he would do. Whether he was influenced by the argument of the Attorney-General (that the charter was defective, because, if carried out, it might result in the depopulating of England, in that it had the right to ferry Englishmen across the seas and make them settlers on a new continent, and that if this ferrying process could be kept up long enough the inevitable result would be the depopulation of England and the destruction of all its institutions), or whether his decision was based upon some other technicality, does not seem to have been definitely ascertained. At any rate, the King proceeded at once to take away the charter of the company. Notice was sent to Nicholas Ferrar with the demand that he forthwith deliver over all the papers and official documents, with the re-

cords of the company. Ferrar was much better prepared to obey this order than was anticipated. So much as a year before it had occurred to him that some such thing might transpire, and he prudently sought to save duplicate copies of all papers and records in his keeping. John Ferrar, his brother, wrote: "About a year before the dissolution of the company (June, 1623) Mr. Nicholas Ferrar, suspecting that the company's records would be finally concealed or destroyed, procured an expert clerk fairly to copy out all the court books and all other writing belonging to them, and caused them all to be carefully collated with the originals and afterwards attested upon oath by the examiners to be true copies, the transcribing of which cost him out of his own pocket fifty pounds, but this he thought one of the best services he could do the company." This account of John Ferrar seems to dispose of the very pretty story that these documents and papers were copied in a very short time after the demand was made for them. These copies entered into the hands of the Earl of Southampton. After both Southampton and his son and successor had passed away, these precious manuscripts were bought from the executor of the estate by William Byrd, of Virginia. From the hands of the Byrd family they passed to William Stith, president of William and Mary College. From the possession of Stith the manuscripts went next to Peyton Randolph, and after his death they were secured by Thomas Jefferson, and when the Library of the United States bought the library of Jefferson, these manuscripts were included. The original documents are nowhere to be found among the British records. It is to these preserved manuscripts that we are indebted for our knowledge concerning these interesting incidents in American history.

Though the London Company was no longer to manage the Virginia Colony, its work had been too thoroughly well

done to be defeated even by such rude and harsh proceedings as these. The colonists were still permitted to hold sessions of the General Assembly and make laws for their own government. The governors appointed by the crown were not always to their liking, to be sure, but in the main were successfully held in check and under control by the General Assembly, commonly called the House of Burgesses.

The splendid work of the London Company cannot possibly be exaggerated. Mistakes were, of course, often made. Oftentimes, especially at the outset, there was petulance and impatience over the slow development of the colony. Great outlays of money and time were being made, and from their preconceived notion of things, it was only natural that they should expect and demand some substantial return. When, however, in the course of the years the dreams that had cast a glamor over the early undertakings were shattered and dissipated, and the company was made to realize that though much which they had set out to accomplish was impossible and could not be achieved, still much, after all incomparably better, might be accomplished, with a very high and unselfish patriotism the company lent itself in every way possible to the preservation of the colony. History furnishes no finer example of English courage and stubbornness than was exhibited in the devotion of this company to the great task of colonizing with Englishmen the western continent. In the celebration of the first permanent settlement at Jamestown, a large place is well deserved by this company in the commemoration of the great events and institutions incident to the settlement in Virginia. But for the stubborn persistency and unswerving devotion of this company, even after it had been realized that there never could be any adequate financial returns, the colony would soon have perished out of the sight of man. Too much honor cannot possibly be given to this splendid organization of the Englishmen of the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER III.

REASONS FOR COLONIZATION.

A study of the motives back of American colonization will be, at this early juncture, pertinent and profitable. It has been before remarked that this was the era of the renaissance of letters, of reformation in religion, and of colonization. Under these stimulating influences the horizon of the people had become wonderfully broadened, and the world had become wonderfully enlarged. There were no stories so interesting as those of adventure and exploration. No form of literature appealed to the people as did the narratives of travelers and discoverers. Rude maps and charts of ancient and distant countries became most interesting and exciting. Tracts on the subject of colonization were circulated and received with almost religious fervor. The dramatists of the day added piquancy and interest to their plays by adroitly incorporating incidents and allusions to colonization. Some serious sermons were preached to show that by means of colonies the Christian world had a great opportunity for the spread of the gospel. The most effective piece of literature on the subject was a production of Mr. Hakluyt, known as a "Discourse on Western Planting." Hakluyt's paper was written after the return from the coasts of North Carolina of the two ships which Raleigh had first sent out, bringing wonderful stories of the beauty and fertility of the new land. It was intended as an appeal to the mind of Queen Elizabeth, so as to engage her co-operation in future colonizing schemes. The raison

d'etre of this almost universal interest in colonization will be found in the existing condition of things at that time, and these will disclose the motives of American colonization.

Enlarged geographical knowledge had not dislodged from the minds of the adventurers of the day the belief that the American continent would furnish a short passage to the East Indies. This notion was persisted in long after it should have been clear to every sane mind that there was no possible ground for its existence. The seventeenth century was well advanced before the idea was given over, and until this time it must be regarded as one of the dominant motives in efforts at American colonization.

Since, by reason of political complications, the overland route to India had been cut off by the Turks, and Portugal and Holland having, in a great measure, the control of the trade around the south of Africa, there had been the persistent dream that a route might be found over which England would have complete control, and that all the commodities and luxuries from India used in England could be brought in English vessels. Every expedition and colonizing enterprise carried official instruction that search be made for the passage to the South Seas.

Serious minded men with pencil and paper had made demonstrations that this passage, without a doubt, existed. George Best declared that "the only thing in the world left undone whereby a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate," was the discovery of the route to the South Seas. It was the passionate purpose of the adventurer of the day to find that passage. The spirit of adventure turned toward this passage as the same spirit of our day seeks stubbornly the North Pole. Ralph Lane understood the Indian to say that the Roanoke River sprang from a rock so close to the

sea that oftentimes in storms its waters were made brackish by the beating in of the waves of the sea.

At the time John Smith was captured by the Indians he was looking for this passage to the East Indies in the Chickahominy Swamp. Hudson, in his fear that somebody would be ahead of him, left home aforetime, and against instruction, sailed up the Hudson River, believing confidently that that noble stream would disclose to him the long sought passage. Mr. Hakluyt entertained a fear lest the nearness of Florida to the Pacific Ocean would become too commonly known. A writer by the name of Briggs, quoted in Waterhouse's declaration, and likewise quoted by Mr. Purchas, said, "The Indian Ocean, which we commonly call the South Sea, lieth on the west and northwest side of Virginia on the other side of the mountain beyond our Falls (James River) and openeth into a free passage." So late as 1669 Lederer, the distinguished German explorer, spoke very hopefully concerning the proximity of the Pacific Ocean to the North Carolina coast.

When the hope of finding this route by some waterway was given over, then it was suggested that a land route might be discovered which would answer all practical purposes. Very few of the explorers had any other idea but that the American continent was a comparatively narrow strip of land. John Smith seemed, however, to have reached a conclusion, somewhat vague it is true, that the continent extended inward many hundreds of miles. However, for a long time it was hoped that by means of colonization this passage, either by land or by water, might at last be discovered.

The next motive may be regarded as an economic one. The peculiar agricultural conditions of the day had brought about a changed order in English society. The demand for wool had become so great and the prices were so high that no other form of agriculture afforded such large returns as

sheep raising. The attention of the English farmer was largely turned in this direction. Vast areas of land that had hitherto been subdivided many times and distributed among the peasant and poorer classes for agricultural purposes were now devoted entirely to the pasturing of vast flocks of sheep. This resulted not only in throwing out of work a large number of people hitherto employed, but in the diminishing of the food products of the country. Soil that had been devoted to the cultivation of foodstuffs was now devoted to sheep raising. The unemployed became a pauper class, dependent either upon the bounty of the church or of the state. When the church properties were confiscated, the church had no means of affording charities, and it came about, therefore, that the entire burden of the support of these pauper classes was thrown upon the state. It thus became one of the grave and urgent problems of the day as to how to provide for these vast hordes of unemployed people. To thoughtful economists of the day, colonization seemed to offer a solution to the problem. It was ably urged that by the establishment of these colonies England would be relieved of its superfluous population, and employment would be given to all the idle and needy classes of people. This condition of things will explain why it was not very difficult to secure emigrants for the experiment of colonization. It will also explain the character of many of those who made up the first expeditions to America.

The commercial motive, as is always the case, was one of the strongest and most persistent influences of the day. Some of the leading and most successful merchants of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries became interested in these movements. The commercial side appealed especially to Sir Humphrey Gilbert. The enterprising and far-seeing merchantmen desired to open up other markets for the products of England.

Mr. Hakluyt called their attention to the increase of English wealth as the result of the market which was found in the Netherlands for English commodities. This instance was cited as an example of what might be done in America. It was further apprehended that certain commodities that England constantly stood in need of might be produced and furnished by America. Exaggerated ideas concerning the resourcefulness and fertility of the country had been engendered by the reports of various expeditions. It was seriously thought that all the things that had hitherto come from India might be grown on the soil and under the skies of what was then believed a tropical America. If products formerly obtainable only from India could be procured from America and under English control, it was wisely concluded that vast advantages would be secured to the English people. It was thought to be a grievous matter that England should be compelled to spend her money in buying wines and silks from southern Europe and forced to secure her naval stores from the Baltic, and it was confidently expected that these things might be easily secured with proper care and cultivation from America.

Mixed with these commercial motives was the strong conviction that the country was rich in precious metals. The stories that had come up concerning the vast wealth of South America and Mexico in these metals had long interested and excited the English people. In the play called "Eastward Ho" there is an exuberant mention made of the supposed richness of America in gold, silver and precious stones. One of the characters is made to say, "I tell thee, gold is more plentiful in Virginia than copper is with us, and for so much red copper as I can bring I will have thrice its weight in gold. All their dripping pans are of pure gold, and all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds

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they go forth on holidays and gather them by the seashores to hang on their children's coats and to pin in their children's caps, as commonly as our children wear saffron gilt brooches engrossed with holes in them." This seems a most grotesque extravaganza, but it greatly stirred the people, and is scarcely less lurid than the tidings that came from the sober leaders in the settlement at Jamestown. Edward Maria Wingfield wrote from Virginia urging that succor be immediately sent, "lest the all-devouring Spaniards lay their hands upon the gold-showing mountains, which, if I be so enabled, they shall never dare to think of." The yellow sides of the rising hills they seemed to think were filled with gold. In their frenzy they not only loaded one ship with sand that glistened, but would have loaded another a little later with the same stuff had it not been for the strong advice of the level-headed Smith, who somehow had got the notion that a cargo of cedar logs would be more valuable than a shipload of the yellow dirt that they were sending to their patrons in England.

In order to keep interested the people back of the enterprise in England, there were no pains spared to make it appear that gold was easily accessible, and that very soon the colonists would be digging it out by the spadeful. They wrote home in this fashion: "No talk, no hope, no work; but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold."

As an indication of the firm belief in the mineral wealth of Virginia, one has only to recall that King James always reserved for himself in every charter one-fifth of the value of such metals as might be found. So for very many years it was a part of the business of thec olony to make immediate and diligent search for mines of gold and silver. If an Indian was seen with any ornament that suggested silver or gold, he was immediately entreated to disclose the whereabout of mines. If an Indian offered up many remarks concerning a

piece of copper which he wore, the colonists understood him to say that there were inexhaustible supplies of a metal like copper, but softer and heavier, and they resorted to every expedient to ascertain the whereabouts of these mines.

It will be seen a little later on that this commercial motive did not go altogether unrewarded and unrealized, but in a direction hitherto totally unexpected and even unimagined. Gradually it began to dawn upon the minds of the leaders in these great colonizing schemes that there must be a disappointment in the realization of the original desires and plans in connection with American colonization, so that the motives explained above gradually gave way to the saner commercial views looking to the building up of a colonial empire for England.

From the outset it was thought that the occupancy of America by the English would put a stop to the aggrandizement and encroachments of Spain. To plant upon the shores of America, at suitable distances, colonies, would be to secure strong strategic advantages in the matter of outposts that should stand in the way of any aggressive movement on the part of their inveterate enemy. Spain, under Philip the Second, was the dread of England, and Raleigh, above all Englishmen, saw the necessity of weakening Spanish power in America. And even after the power of Spain was so utterly broken as to be no longer dreaded by England, this patriotic motive remained, but sought expression along broader and more unselfish lines. When, therefore, distinguished captains of industry were discouraged in their work of colonization and were disposed to surrender all leadership, there were other hands outstretched, willing to assume such grave responsibilities. Back of these hands were English pride and English determination that these colonizing schemes in America should not be permitted to fail, and, more than

that, that they should become beacon fires of human liberty in a new land. But for the operation of this high motive, the effort would have inevitably failed. With this patriotic motive was also associated a religious motive.

In the document prepared by Mr. Hakluyt, and which was addressed to Queen Elizabeth, there is made this statement: "The western discovery will be greatly for the enlargement of the Gospel of Christ, wherewith the princes of the reformed religion are chiefly bound, among whom Her Majesty is the principal."

The most conspicuous leaders in the agitation with reference to colonization were among the clergymen of the Church of England. Hakluyt, from whom we have made such frequent quotations, Symonds, Purchas and Crashaw were especially useful and effective. It cannot be doubted but that at the first there was mixed with the motive the fear of Catholic rule in America. The authorities in the church looked with great alarm upon the slow encroachments of the Spaniards along the coast from Florida, knowing full well that Spanish occupancy meant Catholic supremacy. It was too soon after Henry VIII. and the Reformation for the new Church of England to view with any sort of satisfaction the advancement of the old mother church. Hence it is not unreasonable to suspect that much of the religious fervor at the outset was more for the purpose of thwarting the Catholics than it was for real advancement of Christianity. It must be said, however, that this motive became more mixed as the years wore on, and that there was developed a very genuine religious enthusiasm over the conversion of the aborigines. Some one has truly said that the English Church caught its first missionary impulse in the effort to evangelize the Indians. From time to time kidnapped aborigines had been brought over to England, and the sight of their naked and

ignorant savagery greatly appealed to the people. "Naked slaves of the devil" they were called, in the mild terms of the day.

Very early in the effort at colonization, provision was made for the conversion and education of the Indian youth. It was planned to build schools in which the Indian youths were to be educated, and where they were to be brought under Christian influences. It was even suggested that a number of these youths might be educated and trained in the Christian faith in England and then returned to their native land to preach the Gospel. Compensation was offered to all who would take Indian youths into their afmilies and surround them with an atmosphere favorable to religion.

This zeal was somewhat abated by the bitter animosities that gradually sprung up between the Indians and the colonists. However zealous the promoters of the cause might have been, it was very hard to preserve any enthusiasm among those who lived nearest to the Indians. The massacre of 1622 created such a deep and widespread hatred of the Indians that it was difficult to find anywhere serious desire and purpose to reach them with the Gospel, so that gradually the missionary zeal oozed out.

To us in our day the deep religiousness of the Englishmen of the seventeenth century is somewhat amusing. The incongruities of the situation were numerous and striking. Along with the most outrageous and iniquitous conduct their religion went openly hand in hand, not only acquiescing in the wicked causes, but even advancing them. Admiral Drake, in those piratical cruises in which the seas were pilfered of their treasure and made red with the blood of his hapless victims, carried with him always pious chaplains and observed regular hours for service and worship, and made constant appeals to heaven for divine guidance and help in his nefarious work.

Frequently the relation of the early settlers with the Indians exhibited the same incongruity. There was a most unconscious admixture of religion and unjust and hard cruelties. As it were they would set out to evangelize the Indian with the Bible in one hand and the gun in the other. One is made to wonder if savage shrewdness did not discover the inconsistency of the situation, and if it may not have been that this was one reason why the wily Indian was so slow in committing himself to the religion of the pale-faced Englishmen. However this may be, it remains true that among the motives inspiring and maintaining the colonization of America was the strong and steadfast motive of religion.

If in considering the reasons for colonization one recalls that the spirit of adventure was at its height, he will at once understand the eager responsiveness of the day to these appeals for colonization. The air was filled with the stories of strange seas and shores; of the storehouses of wealth that were to be had if discovered, and it was confidently believed that any expedition might soon return home laden with the infinite treasures of these unknown shores. And so on every hand there was this national alertness and this daring spirit of adventure, ready to enlist in any enterprise of exploration and discovery.

A study of these motives will reveal the fact that some of them lacked the quality of stability, and it was this quality that characterized at the outset the first attempts to settle Virginia. The colonists came with no expectation of making a permanent residence on these shores. Chiefly in evidence were the motives that urged the finding of the northern passage, and the discovery of gold and silver. It is easy, therefore, to see that these things, instead of promoting stability, added to the confusion and the delay of permanent settlement. Time and energy were wasted in fruitless exploration

and in the futile endeavor to secure treasure. Had this time and energy been turned in the direction of cultivating the soil and building homes, the colony would have been saved untold misery, and would have found permanent establishment many years sooner than it did. This is one of the distinctions to be made between the settlement at Plymouth Rock and the settlement at Jamestown. The colonists at Plymouth Rock came with a very determined purpose to make for themselves new homes in the western continent, where they could have a form of worship according to their own views. They brought with them all of those domestic accessories that would contribute to the realization of this purpose, and immediately on landing they set themselves about permanent establishment, and it is said of them that not one of the company ever went back to England.

Not until the vagaries connected with the finding of the northern passage and the dreams of gold and silver were shattered and dissipated by the stern realities of colonial life did these Virginia settlers begin to address themselves to the situation in such ways that meant their permanent establishment. Not until by the cultivation of tobacco it was discovered that a product equal in value to gold and silver might be grown and easily marketed at exorbitant prices did these settlers begin to feel that it was worth while to build homes for themselves and to count on remaining permanently on Virginia soil.

Another motive just beginning to stir into life, scarcely affecting the first expeditions to Virginia, became more and more assertive in the English life of the seventeenth century and grew in the course of years to be the strongest of all the motives that brought people to the American shores. Gradually a growing dissatisfaction with the Stuart kings, and an increasing divergence of opinion concerning the divine

right of kings, came to permeate the lives of the English people. From time to time there came to Virginia men who dreamed of a larger liberty and a larger chance of life, holding perhaps in abeyance the thoughts and dreams that stirred their bosoms. This motive became crystallized into the movement of the Puritans and the Pilgrims. How rapidly the idea spread, and how strong and successful the motive became, the thousands that followed swiftly upon the heels of the Mayflower bear significant testimony. The entire settlement of the New England coast came about through the insistence of this motive, and may be taken as a protest against the doctrine of the divine right of kings. How impossible it was to resist the march and evolution of this new idea is abundantly witnessed by its growth among the Virginia settlers in spite of unpropitious surroundings, and by the lead and stand of Virginians in its behalf in after years.

CHAPTER IV.

JOHN SMITH, THE HERO OF JAMESTOWN.

The little fleet of three ships that sailed away from England on the last day of the year 1606 did not reach Virginia until spring of the year following. They had stopped at the Canaries for two weeks for barter and rest. The first landing was made on April 26, 1607, at Cape Henry, where a cross was set up and fitting religious ceremonies observed. Moving leisurely up the coast from Cape Henry, the first stop was at Lynnhaven Bay, where the colonists had their first encounter with the Indians. It seems that these Indians were surprised at an oyster roast, and were driven away only after some serious resistance. It was permitted the voyagers to regale themselves for the first time with the Lynnhaven oyster, which is "facile princeps" of all the crustaceans. Certainly never before—it is to be seriously doubted if ever afterward—had they tasted such oysters as they dug out of the roasting heap that the Indians had piled and baked together.

The course of the colonists probably led them next to the point now known as Newport News. Here they were met by an Indian chief, offering welcome and hospitality, and giving every assurance of friendliness on the part of his people. Moving up the river, which they named James in honor of the King, the settlers finally reached, on May 13, 1607, the peninsula on which they landed and began to build a town which they called James City. If we may believe the story of their voyage, it was one of storm, both without and within.

From the beginning there was strife, jealousy and suspicion among those who were destined to be the leaders in the new colony. Among the passengers was one John Smith. There was something in his manner and speech that was offensive to the leading spirits of the expedition. There was a certain confidence in his bearing, much volubility and boldness in his speech that was exasperating. So acute did the situation become during the voyage across the Atlantic that this Englishman was finally put under arrest, and under this shadow he landed at Jamestown.

The story of his life hitherto corroborates the old saying that "truth is stranger than fiction." The story related by himself is exceedingly exciting and romantic. It would have been more easily believed if it had been put on record by other hands than his own. It runs something like this:

When but a youth he ran away from his home, carrying with him his trifling belongings, and entered upon a wonderful career of adventure. While a mere lad he was shipwrecked, and again, according to his own account, he was robbed at sea. He became a tramp and wanderer through France, where being attacked and robbed, he was left half dead and exceedingly near to perishing. Meeting this same horde of bandits later on, he reaped swift vengeance by slaying some of them. While on a ship carrying devout Catholics to the Easter celebrations at Rome, he was thrown overboard in order to appease a most furious storm for which his heretical person was held responsible. Whatever became of the pious Christian voyagers after their most alarming experience, is not known. Smith himself partly floated and partly swam to a desolate island. From this island he was rescued by a passing ship. While on this ship there was an encounter with a Venetian argosy, and after a bloody conflict, in which he

was conspicuous, the argosy was captured and its treasury distributed between those engaged in the battle.

Later on he joined the Germans, who were engaged in a fierce war against the Turks. As a soldier in the army of Prince Sigismund, he had a memorable experience with three Turks who were the champions of the Turkish armies. In this encounter he slew first one and then another, and still another of the Turks, who, in turn, engaged him in duel. This exploit commanded for him at once the favor of the German army, and especially of Prince Sigismund, who made him a present of a handsome purse, and who afterwards gave him a patent of nobility, the coat-of-arms of which was a shield upon which were emblazoned three Turks' heads, commemorating the combat with the three Turks of the Mohammedan forces.

Some time after this engaging pastime, in a most disastrous battle with the Turks, he was captured and publicly sold as a slave in the streets of Constantinople. He was bought by a Turkish lady of rank, and whether true or not, Smith imagined that this same lady became greatly enamored of him. For some reason or other, the husband of this fair lady must have shared in Smith's imaginings, for Smith was transported and subjected to the care of a tender brother-in-law who lived on the boundaries of the Caspian Sea. For reasons that were not explained to Smith, he was cruelly treated, and again and again was wickedly beaten at the pleasure and caprice of the aforesaid brother-in-law. It turned out, however, that one day it came to be Smith's turn at the occupation of threshing, and the flail which had been used for beating out the wheat was employed by him in pounding out the brains of his hard master. Seizing the horse of his deceased lord, with little ceremony and less delay, he rode away toward the Russian realm, and after some

weeks of wandering and unutterable suffering, he reached a refuge of safety, from which he came to England just at the time that Gosnold and others were busy in the preparation of the expedition to Virginia.

Whether one accepts the truthfulness of these stories related above depends largely upon one's point of view. Fortunately for Smith, the most exciting and unlikely of the incidents narrated is corroborated by other and older records than his own. The story of the encounter with the Turks and the subsequent reward on the part of Sigismund are matters that had gone on record before Smith's relations concerning them had been made public. In all fairness, it would seem that there are three considerations that should determine one's posture in this contention. First of all, Smith's personal character seems to have been far above the average type of morality in his day. It is testified of him that he was not given to much drink, nor to gambling, nor to profanity. There were not many of his day enjoying the same privileges and opportunities of whom these three things could be said without hope of contradiction. Second, it ought to be remembered that the day in which he lived was a day of large exaggerations. The terms in which ordinary things were described were usually lurid and flamboyant, and to hold him at fault for his style of speech and writing would be to condemn well-nigh all who undertook to give expression to their thoughts or a narration of their experiences. Third, it should be considered that the times in which Smith lived were times in which such incidents as he related concerning himself were, evidently, exceedingly common. When we may believe that Sir John Popham, who afterwards became Chief Justice of England, played the part of a highwayman when a law student at Middle Temple, earning thus for himself means with which to pursue his studies, such encounters as

Smith relates of himself should not be difficult for us to accept. The truth is, as it has been well spoken, "Those who do not believe in the accuracy of his relations concerning himself refuse to see anything worthy in his deeds. On the other hand, those who recognize the value of his deeds, do not find it difficult to accept his relations as being reliable and authentic."

Jamestown, the place selected for the permanent settlement of the colony, did not prove, as might easily have been foreseen, a place at all suitable for the adequate protection and health of the colonists. It was a low peninsula, much of which was covered with water at the flood tide, and on which could be found no pure supply of drinking water, and for these two reasons it ought to have been rejected as a fit habitation for the new settlers. The situation and surroundings were as unsanitary as they possibly could be, and well-nigh most of the unutterable suffering through which the settlers were to pass can be traced to this unfortunate selection of a site upon which to build a colony. Moreover, the nearness of the Indians, whom the colonists too soon offended and alienated, and the meagre supplies that they had brought with them from across the waters, and the ignorance and incompetency of the settlers to earn their living under these new conditions, ought to have shown what would inevitably follow. Smith, the most capable man among the settlers, and the one most likely to rally their drooping spirits and to prevent disorganization and confusion, was at first excluded from the council of seven appointed by King James to rule the colony planted in the wilderness of Virginia. A whim of the King caused him to place in a sealed box the names of the first council of Virginia. Great was the surprise when the box was opened and it was found that John Smith, who had been arrested

during the voyage on the false charge of mutiny, had been designated as one of the members of the council. The other six members were Edward Maria Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin and George Kendall. According to instructions, the council proceeded to the election of a president, and the honor fell to Wingfield, who, though a prominent and competent merchant of London, was unsuited to govern a colony of adventurers in the planting of a new nation.

Hardly had landing been effected at Jamestown, before a search was made to discover the source of the river, with the hope possibly of finding a passage to the South Seas. Smith, Newport and twenty others were sent up the river, and towards the last of May the falls were reached, near where Richmond is now located. Here they found an Indian town called Powhatan, "consisting of some twelve houses pleasantly situated on a hill, before it three fertile isles, about it many of their corn fields." This was one of the homes of the ruler of the people called the Powhatans, and his designation as chief was Powhatan. Not being able to ascend the river further on account of the falls and rocks, the explorers returned to Jamestown, where they found seventeen men hurt and a boy slain by the savages. During these days of exploration, Smith had still remained under suspicion. He now demanded that he should be brought to trial by jury, according to the rights of an Englishman. He was acquitted of the accusation of mutiny, and his chief accuser was adjudged to pay him £200 in damages, which Smith "returned to the store for the general use of the colony."

Newport now returned home, leaving in Jamestown one hundred settlers, of whom fifty-four were classified as gentlemen, and the others as carpenters, laborers and servants. Newport's departure was followed by a fatal sickness, which

was, doubtless, no other than malarial fever, and by September more than fifty of the colonists were dead. Among the victims was Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who was more responsible for this expedition to Virginia than any other man. For the interest which he took in American colonization he is entitled to rank with Gilbert and Raleigh.

Wingfield, attempting to flee from the colony, was deposed as president, and Ratcliffe was placed in his stead. Soon after this, in order to save the colony from perishing, Smith made a trip to Kecoughtan, a town of eighteen Indian huts, located about where Hampton now stands. On demanding corn from the Indians, the same was refused, whereupon he and his men fired their muskets and ran their boat quickly ashore, which so terrified the Indians that they secured from them great heaps of corn and quantities of venison and turkeys.

Ratcliffe proved incompetent to manage the settlement in distress, and again Wingfield and Kendall plotted to seize the only vessel left of the colonists, whereupon Kendall was brought to trial by a jury, convicted, and shot for treason. This is the first reported execution in Virginia.

As winter approached, Smith, to satisfy the complaints of the colonists, went up the Chickahominy River, hoping to discover a passage to the South Seas or Pacific Ocean. He was captured by the Indians and carried to Opechancanough, who would have put him to immediate death but for the fact that his attention was beguiled by Smith into an examination of his compass. By means of a grotesque and elaborate pantomime, Smith sought to explain that the needle always pointed to the North Star. The old chief became hypnotized, so to speak, and spared the life of his captive, whom he sent to Werowocomoco, on York River, the home of Powhatan, the head of the Powhatan confederacy of In-

John Smith.

dians. When Smith was brought into the presence of this brawny emperor of the woods, he found him seated in the midst of fifty warriors, with his group of wives standing behind him. The Queen of the Appomattox brought him water, and another a bunch of turkey feathers for a towel. After this unique ablution he was feasted upon roast turkey and venison. Following this token of Indian regard and hospitality, a council of war was held, and a decision was made that Smith should be put to death. Two stones were brought, on which he was made to lay his head, and just as a warrior with a huge club was on the point of smashing out his brains, an Indian maiden rushed forward, threw herself on him and besought of the great chief that the life of the prisoner might be spared. Powhatan at last yielded, and gave him as a servant to the Indian maiden, by name Matoaka, known in the annals of Virginia as Pocahontas, the word meaning "a bright stream between two hills."

In a few days Smith was permitted to return to Jamestown. Here he found everything in confusion and turmoil, many of the settlers having already died of sickness, and the rest of them at the point of starvation for the want of proper nourishment. Shortly after this Newport arrived in Virginia. The fear that Smith had created in the Indians was soon removed by Newport allowing Powhatan to completely outwit him. The colony was greatly in need of corn, and Smith succeeded, for a pound or two of blue beads, in securing two or three hundred bushels of corn, but Newport, for twenty swords, got only twenty turkeys. Shortly after this Newport returned to England, carrying Wingfield, who never again returned to Virginia. The number of settlers who came over at this time was one hundred and twenty, of whom thirty-three were classed as gentlemen.

In the summer of 1608, Smith explored all the region of

the Chesapeake Bay, going up the York, Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers and inlets along the Eastern Shore, and of this region he made a map which was wonderfully accurate, considering the conditions under which he explored the region. On returning to Jamestown after his explorations of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, Smith finally consented to take the office of president, Ratcliffe being deposed by the colonists themselves.

About this time Newport returned to the colony bringing new settlers, and along with them Mrs. Forrest and her maid, Anne Burras, the first English women to come to Virginia. Soon after this Anne Burras was married to John Laydon, the first English marriage in Virginia We are told that the first child born of this marriage was called Virginia, and that in 1632, when twenty-one years of age, she was presented with a land grant of 500 acres of land in Elizabeth City county.

Smith, as president, addressed himself most seriously to the important task to which he had been called in the very crisis in the life of the colony. He put the settlers to work to build substantial houses. The fort was repaired, every man being required to perform a certain number of hours' service every day. During the winter of 1608-'09 he secured from the Indians food necessary to keep the colony from perishing. During this period Pocahontas was his constant friend. On one occasion he visited the Pamunkey tribe, and, finding that Opechancanough was planning to have him and his companions seized and murdered, he suddenly caught the old chief by his forelock, and with a cocked pistol led him into the midst of his own people. This so dismayed the Indians that they at once yielded to Smith's authority, and very little trouble was experienced with the Indians during the rest of Smith's sojourn in Virginia.

During the year 1609 a number of settlers arrived, and by the middle of the year there were near unto five hundred souls in the colony. These were distributed among several small settlements. An important settlement of about one hundred and twenty men was made near the falls, in that portion of Richmond commonly called "Rocketts." In a little while these settlers were in dispute with the Indians. The latter claimed that their corn was stolen by the white settlers and that they were forced to work. They reported further that some of their men were arrested and others were flogged. To settle these difficulties Smith went to the falls, arranged terms with the Indians, and bought another site for the plantation, which was on high ground and not subject to inundation from the river. Scarcely had these matters been arranged, however, before Captain West, who planted the settlement, appeared upon the scene and persuaded the settlers to go back to their first location. Smith left the place in deep disgust. On his way down the river he was severely wounded by an explosion of a bag of gunpowder. The pain was so intense that he threw himself overboard, but he was rescued from drowning by some of his companions. They finally reached Jamestown. A vessel arriving from London at this time, Smith determined to return to England for medical treatment. Surrendering the government into the hands of George Percy, the brother of the Earl of Northumberland, Smith sailed away. It was a day of misfortune to the colony, for hardly had he gone before dissension and strife arose, and Percy did not prove strong enough for the emergency.

There have been in recent years some earnest attempts at impeachment of the stories of Smith concerning his relations and experiences with the Indians. Especially has the story of his rescue by Pocahontas been held in grave suspicion. Per-

haps the ablest contention from this point of view was waged by Dr. Alexander Brown, of Virginia, whose recent death is greatly to be deplored, and whose splendid contribution to the history of Virginia cannot be praised too highly. It does not seem, however, to us that the contention has been made out clearly and completely. The ground of the contention seems to be this:

In Smith's first account of his career in Virginia no allusion whatever was made to the Pocahontas episode, and only when Pocahontas was coming to London and about to be received with great attention and applause did it occur to him to relate this story in a letter to the King, giving his rescue by Pocahontas as the ground of his appeal for kindly attention on the King's part toward her. It does not seem to us that this necessarily proves the inaccuracy of Smith as a historian. It can be shown that there were reasons why this story did not appear in Smith's first and briefer relation. It is understood on all hands that his first relation was edited and some parts of it eliminated. There is a well-known reason why Smith should not have told this incident in this relation, and why, if he should have done so, it would have been eliminated before being given to the public. Among the instructions given to the colonists, they were warned not to send back in any letters or communications any discouraging or distressing news, and especially must they withhold experiences with the Indians that would indicate harsh relations between the settlers and the aborigines. Furthermore, it ought to be remembered that at the time when this story was first related Pocahontas herself was in England, and must have known of the publicity given to this statement. It is difficult to believe that if it had been untrue she would have permitted it to pass without some explanation and denial. Smith, it must not be forgotten, had many enemies

still alive who must have been acquainted with the leading facts of his career at Jamestown, and if it had not been accepted among these settlers as a story known to them before its public relation, it cannot be doubted but that they would have been only too glad to have made prompt and public denial of it. Besides, the story is congruous both with the customs of the Indian people and with the conduct of the Indians ever afterward, especially the conduct of the maiden Pocahontas. There must have been some reason for her friendly relation with the settlers, and for the amicable relations sustained for some time between the Indians and the settlers. This episode seems to be an adequate explanation for these things, or, at least, it perfectly comports with them. In view of these considerations, thus hastily given, we are unwilling to give up this beautiful incident as being a figment of Smith's imagination and a creature of his arrogant conceit. It seems to us that the whole trouble with reference to the suspicion under which Smith has been held grows out of the psychological difficulty of reconciling the paradoxes of his character. It is hard to give credit of sincerity and veracity to a man who carries himself in such a blustering and persistently self-conscious way, and if the performances of Smith and the services rendered on behalf of the colony had not been very real and substantial, it might be easy to accept this view of the case. When you have made all the discount possibly to be allowed by the palpable and flagrant fault of the man's speech, manner and character, there is still a noble residue that must be taken into account. He was alert and quickly responsive to situations that changed with kaleidoscopic swiftness and variety. He was courageous and resourceful in war. He was sagacious and diplomatic in dealings outside of the immediate settlement, both with the Indians and with the London Company in its incessant and sometimes unrea-

sonable scrutiny and requirements. He was magnanimous to his foes. He was always as kind and patient in his treatment of the aborigines as their own savage ignorance and the safety of the colonists would permit him to be. Though he was boastful of speech and aggressive, if not arrogant, in his manner, he was brave and magnanimous, courageous and honest, gentle and just, unselfish and patriotic; and however these may conflict with other contradictory qualities, there cannot be any doubt but that these were the warp and the woof of his character, and by virtue of these we deem him justly entitled to be called the hero of Jamestown.

Smith left Virginia in 1609, never to return to the colony. After recovering from his wounds he was commissioned to explore the coast of New England. To this region he gave many of the names which are now in common use. The Plymouth Company conferred upon him the title of Admiral of New England. While in Virginia he wrote a pamphlet entitled "The True Relation of Virginia," and after his return to England he compiled a history which is known as "Smith's General History," published in 1626. He also wrote other descriptions of Virginia and of New England. As a writer Smith is most pleasing and humorous. He died in London in 1631, and was buried in St. Sepulchre's Church, Skinners Street, London. A tablet was erected to his memory and inscribed with the motto, "Vincere est Vivere," and with a long epitaph in poetry, the first four lines of which are here given:

"Here lies unconquered that has conquered kings,
Subdued large territories and done things
Which to the world impossible would seem,
But that the truth is held in more esteem."

Strangely enough, no monument has been erected to the memory of John Smith. It must, therefore, be a matter of

great satisfaction to all familiar with the valorous deeds of this hero of Jamestown to know that through the perseverance of the Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, a monument will be erected on Jamestown Island in 1907 as a tribute to Smith and his distinguished services to the Virginia Colony.

CHAPTER V.

THE LAND OF POWHATAN AND HIS PEOPLE.

When the first settlers came up the James River and moored their ships at the shores of Jamestown, it was springtime in Virginia. Her sons know what that means. How swiftly things that have been away come back; or asleep, become alive and astir; or dead, break and bloom into life at the first kiss of the vernal sun and the call of the south wind. But such a spring as greeted the weary voyagers of the Godspeed, of the Susan Constant and of the Discovery has never been since seen on land or sea. Above them skies blue and sun as genial as Italy's. The forest trees were leafed, and as far as the eye could see there was wave upon wave of shimmering green; here and there the gleaming pink and white of the blossom of the crab-apple and wild cherry and dogwood. Under their feet sprang up the grass, tender with the first touch of spring, and a thousand yellow and blue and red things, sweet and fragrant. Everywhere was the pulsing and throbbing springtime felt, filling all the forests with vibrant and gladsome life, and all the air with perfume.

After three months of cloud and storm and the narrow confinement and coarse diet of their long voyage, how it all must have seemed, as the settlers themselves declared it to be, "the very paradise of God into which they had come." The old Eden by the Euphrates sprang up again in a distant land by a river bearing the strange name of Powhatan. How relevant to all the life without and to all the thought within

must have been those first religious exercises in which they engaged in the new land! A board stretched between two forest trees was the altar upon which the Holy Bible and Prayer Book were reverently laid, and from which their rector, the Reverend Mr. Hunt, read the solemn and noble service of the Church of old England. The singing of the birds, mate calling to mate in the mysterious honeymoon of the early springtime; the rustling of the leaves of the forests, moved upon by the south wind; the rippling of the passing river, singing its way toward the sea, united with the song and psalm of the devout worshipers, and must have risen up to the God of nations as grateful as incense from graven altars, and as sweet as the rising fragrance of bud and blossom in the valleys beneath.

Smith, writing back, said "that heaven and earth never agreed better to form a place for man's habitation." A much traveled member of the London Company declared, "I have traveled by land over eighteen several kingdoms, and yet all of them, in my mind, come far short to Virginia." Mr. Williams, in some historical tracts afterward issued, wrote: "For exactness of temperature, goodness of soil, variety of staples, and capability of receiving whatever else is produced in any part of the globe, Virginia gives the right hand of pre-eminence to no province under heaven." Mr. Bruce, in his superb "Economic History of Virginia," following perhaps Mr. Beverly, said that there were three sorts of soil easily recognized in Virginia. The soil near the mouth of the rivers, moist and fertile, was adapted to the growth of rice, hemp, tobacco and corn. The low grounds were in general covered with forests of pine, poplar, cypress, sweet-gum, holly, cedar and live-oak. Then there was the soil found on the banks of the upper sections of the rivers and throughout the adjacent country. It was quite frequently a rich, black mold, but loose and light and thin. In this soil the walnut, birch and ash grew to be

of remarkable size. The soil around the headwaters of the various rivers was of another sort, and varied greatly in fertility. Some was rich and heavily timbered; upon another grew vast meadows and savannas of tall reed and grass; another still was made up of acres of bog and swamps, filled with great trees growing so closely together that their branches interlocked. Almost the entire face of the country, when the Virginia settlers came, was covered by primeval forests. Here and there along the banks of the streams could be seen cleared patches of ground where the Indian villages were built, and where they cultivated their corn and vegetables. Freedom from undergrowth was one of the first characteristics of the forests that impressed the settlers. It is said that it was easy to drive a team through the forests and not at all difficult to form a line of battle under the great trees. The first seen by the settlers of 1607 were the pine trees that kept sentinel along the shores of the seas of Virginia. It is said that approaching vessels could detect, many miles out at sea, the pungent and fragrant odor of the pine. These pine trees, rising from the lowlands by the sea, at a distance appeared to spring up out of the sea, lifting their heads even unto the skies. They grew to be tremendous, both in girth and in length. The finest specimen of the pine tree in Virginia at that time grew on the shores where Hampton Roads now is. It was found by the Virginia settlers that they had no ships that could carry away the logs of these great pine trees unless they were trimmed and cut down as to length.

The oak tree likewise grew to be very large, planks from which were made having twenty yards in length and two and a half feet square.

Of fruit trees there were not very many. The crab-apple, wild cherry, persimmon and the plum constituted the assortment of fruit trees native to the Virginian soil. The goose-

berry, raspberry and cranberry greatly flourished. The wild strawberry grew in prodigal abundance, and greatly pleased the settlers with its size and fine flavor.

In the fields were to be found the wild onion, growing to be "as large as the thumb"; the squash, pumpkin and muskmelon greatly flourished; but the watermelon, for which Virginia has since become famous, was not indigenous, but was afterwards imported.

Of the flowers the first settlers make no special mention, only of the wild rose and violet; but at the time of their landing hundreds of other flowers, some known and some unknown to them, were in bloom. A species of laurel grew and blossomed through the several months, rich in coloring and very fragrant. The locust tree abounded with flowers something like the jessamine. The dog-wood, blooming in the early spring, was in full glory at the time of the first settlement. The myrtle trees, whose bark yielded a gum thought to have healing qualities, and whose branches blossomed luxuriantly in pink and white, could be found in all parts of Tidewater Virginia.

A notable feature of the new country was the number of streams. This must have been especially grateful to the voyagers after their three months on shipboard. Many of these streams were large and navigable for many miles inward. Into the larger streams from right and left came tributaries, many of which were themselves navigable. All of these streams, whether large or great, ran perfectly clear. This is a strange statement to the Virginian of the present day. Now that the forests have been cut away, and the contiguous fields put under cultivation, many of these streams for most of the year run red and muddy instead of clear and pure.

The fields and forests abounded in all sorts of game, becoming more plentiful as one went into the interior farther from the hunting grounds of the Indians. In the early spring

and fall the country was filled with feathered game. The swan, wild goose, duck in numerous varieties, but worthy of especial mention the canvas-back and red-head; plover, snipe, woodcock and sora all abounded. The turkey seems most to have impressed the early settlers, and was found everywhere in great quantities. The eagle—black, gray and bald—was numerous. Likewise the owl and crow, the latter afterward to become increasingly numerous and troublesome to the colonists.

This description, all too meagre, is only a bare suggestion of the marvelous land into which the first Virginia settlers came and built their homes.

The history of the aboriginal inhabitants of this new land is of a very uncertain and unreliable sort. It is exceedingly difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff in the stories of the first explorers. It is not that they were mistaken sometimes, but that they evidently and frequently made statements that were exaggerations. Besides, the Indians were most crafty and deceitful, and were most reluctant to furnish information unless they saw a chance to reap some advantage. These facts, put together, make it exceedingly doubtful whether any really accurate and satisfactory history can be given of the very early Virginia Indian. It was scarcely to be expected of these first adventurers, on account of the inherent difficulties in circumstances surrounding them, to make a very full or accurate relation of what they had seen or of the experiences through which they had passed. Not always could they understand the Indian when he really meant to tell the truth, and not often could they really discover when he was telling the truth. The things they saw and heard were so utterly new and strange, that it was exceedingly difficult for them to understand or to be able to accurately describe them to others.

At the time of the coming of the first settlers there were three tribes of Indians living between the James and Potomac Rivers, and these were the Indians with whom the early settlers first came in contact: The Mannahoac Indians, living at the headwaters of the Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers; the Monocan Indians, occupying the territory on the banks of the upper James River, and the Powhatans, possessing practically all of the portion of the country now known as Tidewater Virginia. These were the tribes with which the settlers had most to do and from whom they had most trouble; and yet, indeed, from whom they had indispensable succor in dire distress.

The Powhatan confederacy was composed of thirty tribes and about twenty-four hundred warriors, which would mean a population of about ten thousand. The largest of these tribes was the Pamunkey, having about one thousand population. The Powhatan at the head of this confederacy was of the Pamunkey tribe.

The head of the allied tribes in Virginia was known as Powhatan. He occupied the relation of King or Emperor over the subordinated confederacies. He had three official residences. The first one was on the north side of the York River, about three miles from the present Yorktown, and was called Werowocomoco. The next capital residence was at Orapakes, on the Chickahominy River, near Powhatan, and the third place was at Powhatan, near the present site of the city of Richmond.

Powhatan, at the time of the coming of the English settlers at Jamestown, is described by Strachy, who evidently had his information from Smith, as follows:

"A goodly old man, not yet shrinking, though well beaten with many strong and cold winters, supposed to be little less than eighty years old, with gray hairs but plain and thin upon

his broad shoulders; some few hairs upon his chin and upper lip. He hath been a strong and able savage sinewy, and of a daring spirit; vigilant and ambitious, subtle to enlarge his dominions."

In Powhatan was centred all governmental power. The legislative, judicial and executive branches of government seemed all to have been lodged in him. He associated with himself a considerable pomp and parade of office and power, had a royal retinue as bodyguard, composed of sixty or seventy of the most stalwart and fearless Indian warriors. He exercised undisputed authority over all the allied tribes. His subjects planted all his corn and gathered it for him when it was ripe. His treasure house was located at Orapakes. It is said to have been fifty or sixty feet long, and was the storehouse, not only of his corn, but of his other valuable possessions, such as skins, copper, paint, beads and arms of all kinds. He had to himself the responsibility of many wives. Strachy said "he had a multiplicity of women." Most of these he left at home whenever he took excursions, but always carried with him two or more wherever he went. Mr. Strachy is the authority for the statement that he had twenty sons and twelve daughters, one of whom was the Princess Pocahontas. When for any reason he became tired of a wife, he gave her away to some of his friends as a token of his royal favor.

The empire over which he ruled was made up of many subdivisions. Each town or village constituted one of these divisions.

Powhatan, in his dealings with the early settlers, showed himself to be wonderfully shrewd and wise. Had he dealt with one less shrewd than Smith, and having less experience in adventure, the colonists would have doubtless suffered many more and worse things at the hands of the Indians.

He constantly held the settlers under suspicion, and seemed to fear the most when they came bearing gifts. It was evident that he had little relish for the coronation ceremonies that were inflicted upon him, and that he accepted the gifts sent by the King of England with some apprehension, believing that in some way or other he would be obliged to give an account for them. One does not know whether it was in a sense of savage humor or of contempt that he gathered up his cast-off garments and presented them to the commission that had in charge the ceremonies and coronation. It may be that the shrewd Indian in that way sought to indicate his supreme contempt for the whole proceedings.

The tribes over which he ruled were made up of subdivisions, and were so distributed as that a town or village constituted one of these divisions.

These towns were independent of each other, but were all under one Emperor and governed by him or his appointees. In each village were a sachem, a tribal council and a priest.

The sachem was a member of the King's council, and was looked to for advice and direction in all civil and domestic matters. He had absolute power of life and death, and his word was ordinarily considered final. The werowance was the war leader, and was the chief in all hunting expeditions. In time of war he was supreme in authority. He was appointed by the Emperor, while the sachem was elected by the people.

The tribal council, chosen by the people, had the authority of counsel and advice in every town. There was a general council which met at Werowocomoco. Over its deliberations the Emperor himself presided, and was always treated with profound respect. The general council was made up of representatives from the various tribal towns.

The priests had authority in all religious and spiritual

matters. They were held in high esteem, and were consulted in regard to all important undertakings.

It can be seen from these statements that there was considerable coherence in the government among the Indians. The resemblance to English forms of governmental life suggests that, after all, the historians might have read their own ideas into such observation and into such information as might have come to them with the limited means of finding information at their command. It is a little difficult to imagine such advanced ideas of government among a people so savage and so isolated as were these aborigines.

Among them land was held in common, each inhabitant having equal rights in all hunting privileges. Private property, dwellings and gardens were respected by all. The villages were usually built upon high places, contiguous to streams of water. They were composed of twenty-five or thirty houses, which were built of saplings, planted at regular distances like posts, and then bent over and tied together in the middle. The house was built up by skilful application and use of barks and grasses adroitly interwoven. The roof came down well over the structure. Sometimes there were windows, but usually there was only one opening. The fire for heating was built in the middle of the house on the floor, and usually there was an opening at some proper place in the roof for the escape of the smoke. The beds were arranged around the fire and were usually elevated a few feet above the ground, or were made up of pallets of furs and skins stretched upon the floor. Several families usually occupied one of these dwellings. The shape of the houses was either oblong or circular. The circular form was much smaller and was not so generally used. Each dwelling place had its own plot of ground for the cultivation of corn and vegetables. Certain trees were planted and cultivated. The mulberry

tree, for some reason, was especially popular, and the location of many of these Indian villages could be traced many years afterward by the presence and growth of these mulberry trees. The sunflower was also a favorite, and in all their gardens it could be seen growing in luxuriance.

The products of the field were, in the main, corn, beans and squashes or pumpkins. These ordinarily were all grown as they are now, in the same fields. The corn was planted at intervals as the season wore on, so as to have many crops of the roasting ear, of which the Indians were very fond. At the harvest season the corn was gathered, and when perfectly dried and seasoned, was shelled and stored away in huge baskets for the winter's use. This was used in the form of hominy.

Captain John Smith said, "There is yet no place in Virginia discovered to be so savage in which they have not a religion." Every Indian village had a temple and attending priests. The temples were usually capacious. They were entered always from the east. At the western end of the building there was a rude sort of chancel or altar "with hollow windings and pillars, and around stood divers black images fashioned to the shoulders, with their faces looking down the church." These temples were cared for by the priests, who practiced in them at certain times ritualistic services. They believed in the existence of a Supreme Being who was wise and bountiful and benevolent. They usually believed in another supreme being who represented the evil principle, and whom they held responsible for all the evil and sorrow of their lives.

The Supreme Being who represented the good principle they believed to be kindly and mercifully disposed, and if unhindered, he would fill their lives with joy and blessings. So assured were they in this belief of his perpetual goodness

that they thought it unnecessary to render unto him any special form of worship.

On the other hand, they believed that the being representing the evil principle was constantly bent upon their suffering and unhappiness. With this belief they conceived the idea that if this supreme being could be appeased they would be saved from misery and unhappiness. They therefore concluded, in their rude logic, that it was better to worship the evil principle rather than the good principle, because the evil principle might be placated and bought off. So their offerings and gifts were all paid to the being representing the evil principle of life.

They celebrated, under the leadership of their priests, two annual feasts. One of them was at the time of the gathering in of the corn, and must have corresponded in some ways to our annual Thanksgiving services. It was observed as a day of feasting and rejoicing. The other feast seems to have corresponded somewhat with our New Year's festivities. The exercises began with fasting on the part of all the members of the tribe. The old fires that had been carefully cherished throughout the year were extinguished and new fires kindled. Every member of the tribe was required to take an emetic, after which life was begun over again. All criminals, except murderers, were on that day pardoned, and after having taken, along with the rest, an emetic, they were restored fully to their old places and standing in the tribe.

They had a very decided belief in another form of existence. They seemed to have believed in what Christian people are used to calling heaven and hell. Into the heaven went all the good and faithful and brave; into hell were driven the wicked and unfaithful. In connection with this belief in a future life they had a sort of vague faith in the transmigration of souls, and seem to have believed that after a certain

stay in the evil place, some were permitted to come back into life and begin the slow process of transmigration which should issue into a better and truer life.

It will be interesting, perhaps, to know that there still lingers in Virginia a small tribe of Indians known as the Pamunkey Indians. They claim to be the lineal descendants of the Powhatan tribe.

We are indebted to Mr. John Garland Pollard for very definite information concerning this tribe of Indians. They live in a town on the Richmond and West Point Railway, known as Indian Town, about twenty-one miles east of Richmond. They live upon a tract of land containing about eight hundred acres, of which there are two hundred and fifty arable acres. This tract was conceded by an act of the Colonial Assembly, and it is never to be alienated from their possession.

In 1893 Mr. Pollard went to this Indian village and took a census of the Pamunkey tribe. He reported that there were present on the reservation ninety Indians all told; twenty others were accounted for as being in service in Richmond or as being employed on the steamships plying the Virginia streams during the summer. So that, all told, there were in 1893 one hundred and ten Pamunkey Indians.

These Indians are not by any means thoroughbred. Their blood has become much tainted, especially with negro blood. The estimate of its purity runs all the way from one-fifth to four-fifths. In recent years, however, they have a very stringent rule that there must be no intermarrying with the negroes. The penalty for a violation of this rule is expulsion from all the rights and privileges of the tribe.

They live under a pure democracy, being governed by a chief chosen by the people, and by a council of four men associated with him. Their manner of election is curious and

interesting. Two names are nominated by the council for presidential chief, one known as Number One, and the other known as Number Two. Whoever wishes to vote for Number One deposits in a receptacle placed at a central point a grain of corn; and whoever votes for Number Two deposits a bean. They enforce their laws rigidly, although penalties for violations of law do not seem to be very great, consisting mainly in fines and expulsion or denial of the rights and privileges of the tribe. All capital offenses are tried in the neighboring court of King William county.

The lands are held in common, but there is allotted to each head of the family eight acres of ground. This land ordinarily remains in one family through generations, and is only transferred when there are no heirs laying claim to it. Upon these eight acres they build their house, usually a story and a half high. They live or subsist in a very primitive fashion, depending upon the streams and woods for their support. Deer is sometimes to be had on their reservation. They deal considerably in furs of small wild animals. The streams abound in all the fish known to the Virginia waters. They capture each year large numbers of ducks and other birds, especially the famous and toothsome sora. Their manner of killing the sora is interesting and peculiar. Nowadays they have a basket of iron resembling very much the ordinary peach basket. In it is put the pine kindling wood, which is ignited and set in the marshes or in front of their canoes. The birds are attracted to the fire in vast numbers, and are beaten down by flails in the hands of the Indians. They originally had as a receptacle for the fire what they called a sora horse. It was made of clay, and was hardened much as china is. One of these sora horses was found by Mr. Pollard and put on exhibition at the Chicago Exposition, and is now at the Smithsonian Institue at Washington.

They pay no tribute to the State, except that it has become a custom to furnish to the Executive Mansion at Richmond gifts of game and fish each year in varying quantities.

The percentage of illiteracy among them is very small. Most of them know how to read and write. The State maintains a free school on the reservation. Some years ago a negro was sent as teacher at the school, but they promptly dismissed this negro, so greatly had they become interested in the maintaining of their race pride. When one thinks of the admixture of their blood with the negro, one is bound to think that here is a case of where "the stable is locked after the horse is gone."

They are a very religiously inclined people. They have on their reservation a church which they attend with great unction and regularity. The membership of the church takes in nearly the entire tribe. They are of the Baptist faith, and maintain pleasant and fraternal relations with that body in the State.

These seem to be the sole remnants of the tribes brought into contact, and, alas! too often into conflict, with the early settlers of Virginia. They are the residue of a brave and simple people that fell before the ruthless march of civilization.

CHAPTER VI.

POCAHONTAS, THE HEROINE OF JAMESTOWN.

If John Smith, in the story of the Jamestown settlement, is the hero, Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, is entitled to be called the heroine. In the study of the life of Captain Smith, we have already been introduced to the wilderness princess. So far as history reports, the English at Jamestown did not know of this Indian maiden until she rescued the life of John Smith in the winter of 1607-'08. She was then a mere child of some eleven or twelve years. Her regard for Smith and her generous spirit were the means of establishing amicable relations between her people and the little band of Englishmen.

We next hear of Pocahontas, in this same winter of trial, leading, at frequent intervals, a trail of Indians into the colony bearing supplies for the starving people. The weather being exceedingly cold, such excursions must have been attended with great discomfort, if not absolute suffering, to this child of the forests. Marion Harland describes this princess of the wilderness, leading her savage followers into the English settlement, as "a little girl wrapped in a robe of doeskin, lined and edged with pigeon down," with "a white heron's feather in her black hair," indicating her rank as a King's daughter. Her visits must have been very frequent, for it is said, "Ever once in four days this wild train visited the settlement until the peril of famine was passed." It is evident that the Indian maiden was very much at home among the English settlers.

Mr. Strachey tells that "the before remembered Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter, continues resorting to our fort. Of the age then of eleven or twelve years, would get the boys forth with her into the market places and make them wheel, falling on their hands and turning their heels upward, whom she would follow and wheel so herself all the fort over." This exploit seems to give some ground for the interpretation that is sometimes given to the name of Pocahontas. It is said that on account of these boyish pranks her father called her Pocahontas, which means "tom-boy." It is generally believed, however, that the word means "bright stream between two hills."

We next hear of Pocahontas in the summer of 1608, at which time she visited Jamestown to beg for the release of some Indians who were detained in prison. Her request was granted, and Smith sent her away with presents.

A few months later we again hear of Pocahontas at the time Smith had gone amongst her father's people to announce that the King of England had sent to Powhatan, in token of his high regard, certain presents, and desired that Powhatan come to Jamestown to receive these presents and to submit to the ceremonies of coronation. On Smith's arrival at Werowocomoco, Powhatan was absent, and while Smith waited for the return of the aged chief, he and his companions were entertained by Pocahontas and her maidens. Smith and his companions were seated in an open field before a fire when they heard a great noise and shrieking. They seized their arms, thinking that Powhatan had treacherously planned to surprise them; but presently Pocahontas came and assured Smith that no harm was meant, and that she would suffer death herself before any hurt should befall him. Then came thirty young women from the woods, their bodies painted with many colors, but each one in a different fashion. Poca-

hontas, their leader, had a pair of buck's horns on her head, an otter's skin at her girdle, and a bow and arrow in her hand. The Indian maidens rushed from the woods with great shouts, and forming a ring they executed a peculiar wild dance around Smith and his companions.

The next day Powhatan arrived. He received the message from Newport, after which, drawing himself up like a great monarch, he said: "If your King has sent me presents, I also am a King, and this is my land. Eight days I will stay to receive them. Your father is to come to me, not I to him." Thus Powhatan refused to go to Jamestown to be crowned, and Captain Newport therefore came to Powhatan's home on York River with the presents from King James. After much persuasion old Powhatan put on the scarlet robe, but when he was ordered to kneel to receive the crown, he positively refused to bend his knee. "At last, by leaning hard on his shoulders, he a little stooped, and Newport put the crown on his head." The English then fired a salute in honor of Powhatan, the King, who started up with great fear until he saw that no harm was meant.

In the winter of 1608 the colony was in great distress from lack of provisions. Powhatan knew of its condition and invited Smith to make him a visit at Werowocomoco, with the request that Smith should build him a house, give him a grindstone, fifty swords, some firearms, a hen and rooster, and much beads and copper. In return for these Powhatan promised large supplies of corn. Smith was only too glad to accept the invitation, for he had come to believe that the old chief had made up his mind to starve the colony by withholding all supplies of corn and refusing all efforts at any trade for the same. Already he had determined upon extreme and desperate measures, nothing less than the capture of Powhatan himself and the holding of him as a ransom for food.

It seems that Powhatan had been doing some thinking and planning himself. He had about come to the conclusion that unless something was done to the Englishmen they would eventually drive him and his people further inward, and he in turn was planning to capture Smith; hence his very gracious good cheer to the storm-bound group far away from the blessings of their English homes. Yet even at such a time, and upon in the effort to entertain his brave followers and to bring invitation.

The weather was exceedingly cold, and Smith and his party made slow headway in sailing. On account of stormy weather, they were compelled to stop at the village of Kecoughtan and to spend a week. It was Christmas time. Here they were feasted on oysters, venison and wild fowl. We are told, also, that Smith and two of his companions amused themselves by hunting, and killed one hundred and forty-eight wild fowl in three shots. One can imagine how these Englishmen on Christmas eve gathered close around the fire in one of the rude Indian huts, and how their thoughts must have crossed over the seas to their old homes and firesides in England. Men less brave and determined, under such a spell, would have quailed before the dangers and uncertainties of the journey upon which they had come. The marvelous resource of their brave captain must have been mightily drawn under such unpropitious circumstances, the brave, good nature of the sturdy Englishman undoubtedly asserted itself, and before the evening was far spent many a shout of laughter might have been heard by any eavesdropping Indian. One wonders if the Christmas-tide softened in any way their feeling towards the Indians, and if, yielding to its gracious spell, they took up their journey less intent upon doing violent harm or hurt because of the lonely Christmas eve they had spent together around the fire in the rude cabin planted in the midst of an untamed wilderness.

After the week had expired they took up their journey, and finally reached Werowocomoco on the 12th of January. The ice covered the York River from shore to shore, leaving only the narrowest channel in the middle of the river. After coming ashore through the frozen marshlands, the Englishmen found shelter for themselves in the nearest cabins. Smith sent a message to Powhatan announcing that he was in the neighborhood, and asking that he furnish them with provisions. The chief answered in his usual generous way, sending great quantities of bread, venison and turkeys. The next day he perpetrated a piece of grim sarcasm by sending a very polite request to know when they were going to move on. He added that, if they had come for corn they would be disappointed, because he himself had no corn and that his people had less than he had, but if they wanted corn very much, he might be able to get them a little in exchange for swords. Smith complained that this treatment was unjust, as he had come by invitation. Powhatan treated the matter as though it was a great joke, and asked the Englishmen to proceed to show their goods, insisting, however, that he had no corn to exchange except for swords and guns. Smith gave him to understand, as plainly as possible, that any exchange of swords or guns was absolutely impossible, and then followed a long and skilful parley. Greek met Greek; it was give and take through the livelong day between two smart masters of diplomacy, each looking for the opportunity to have the other in his power. Smith requested that the savages break the ice from the river bank so that his boat might come to the shore and take himself and the corn aboard. He was not feeling altogether comfortable with the bulk of his men so far removed from him, and he thought that if these men could be brought ashore he might be able to surprise the old chief. While they were waiting for the Indians to break away the

ice, Smith was beguiling the old chief with a most engaging and moving address, protesting his great devotion to the chief, whom he called, with great unction, "Father"; but Powhatan was somewhat of an orator himself, and knew quite as well as Smith how to employ smooth and soothing terms of endearment, exchanging every time a Roland for Smith's Oliver. It was soon discovered that Powhatan was not to be easily fooled. He succeeded finally in breaking away from Captain Smith's bewitching eloquence and fled unceremoniously with his women and children. It looked as though it was with this desperate effort that he shook off the witchery into which Smith was slowly hypnotizing him. To avoid any suspicion, he took the precaution of leaving behind him two or three women who were to engage Smith, holding his attention while the Powhatan warriors surrounded the cabin in which they were. Smith, to avoid capture, rushed from the cabin and fired his pistol. The savages tumbled over each other in their haste to get safely beyond the reach of the bullets.

Powhatan was greatly chagrined at the failure of this strategy, and he realized that something ought to be done to remove the unfavorable impression which the sudden and violent appearance of so many of his men must have made upon the minds of the Englishmen. Accordingly, he sent a deputy to convey to Captain Smith the assurances of his great affection, and ask that he accept as tokens of his good will the bracelet and a string of pearls. In the meanwhile a number of Indians brought baskets of corn to load Smith's vessel with, and, with a most amusing naivete, offered to guard the guns of the English while they loaded the boat. Smith declared that a proceeding just to the reverse of that would be more to his liking, and proceeded to persuade them to lay down their arms, which the Englishmen guarded while the

Indians with celerity carried the corn aboard, having lost, at the sight of their loaded and lighted guns in the hands of the Englishmen, whatever valorous intention they may have harbored.

On account of the low tide Smith and his companions were obliged to remain over night at Werowocomoco. They accordingly returned to the cabins in which they had been quartered. The savages remained with them until nightfall, entertaining them with many merry savage sports.

In the meantime Powhatan was calling together his forces and agitating the destruction of his guests. The Englishmen were alone in the Indian cabin. Suddenly Pocahontas, whom Smith described as "Powhatan's dearest jewel and daughter," appeared in the cabin before the Englishmen. She had come through the dark and cold night unattended from her father's cabin. She told the English that Powhatan had provided a great feast for their supper, and that he conspired to come suddenly upon them preoccupied with their supper and with their own weapons destroy them. She therefore earnestly advised that, if they cared for their lives, they would be gone immediately. Captain Smith, grateful for this brave and timely warning, pressed some gifts upon the Indian princess, things that the childish heart must have greatly delighted in; but she said, with tears in her eyes, "I dare not to be seen to have any, for if Powhatan should know it I am but dead," and she ran away into the woods and disappeared out of sight. It turned out surely enough as she had spoken. The savages came bringing great platters of things to eat. They begged the Englishmen to put out the matches to their guns, as the smoke made them very sick, and to sit down and eat their supper. Captain Smith made the Indians to eat first of every dish, and then sent them back to Powhatan, telling him to make haste, for he was awaiting his arrival. Through the

night there was constant coming and going of messengers back and forth from the chief, and though to every appearance they were on friendly terms, they were exceedingly careful and vigilant lest one party or the other might come to some unexpected and sudden advantage over the other. At the coming of high tide the Englishmen departed. They visited the Pamunkey and the Matapony Indians in search of provisions, and finally returned to Jamestown with four hundred and seventy-nine bushels of corn and two hundred pounds of deer suet. But for the timely warning given by Pocahontas, Smith would probably have been seized and put to death at Werowocomoco.

On Smith's departure from the colony, Pocahontas seems to have utterly dropped out of sight. When we next find her she is with the Potomac Indians, where it is said she had gone to visit friends of hers. It is thought that the story of her betrayal of the conspiracy to attack Smith and his company while they were at supper had reached the ears of her father, Powhatan, and that he had made her life so wretched that she left home in order to escape his incessant anger. She had gone to the wigwam of one Japazaws, said to be an old acquaintance of Captain Smith, and to be kindly disposed to Englishmen.

Early in 1612 Argall had been sent out by Governor Dale on an expedition to secure corn and provisions from the Indians, and on this expedition he visited the Potomac Indians and discovered among them Pocahontas. It seems that in some way she regarded herself as being in retirement, and trusted that no one would recognize her. Argall conceived the idea that if Pocahontas could be kidnapped and held as hostage, Powhatan might be dealt with more successfully. The hostility of Powhatan was becoming more manifest every day. After the departure of Smith he was at little pains to

disguise his hatred of the Englishmen and his purpose to be rid of them in any way possible. He was perfectly willing that they should be allowed to starve in their isolation. Argall, in accomplishing his kidnapping scheme, sought an interview with Japazaws, and offered the bribe of a copper kettle to him and his wife if they would assist him. It was agreed in their conspiracy that the maid should be beguiled aboard Argall's ship. Curiously enough, like other hunted things, she seemed especially to avoid the vessel of the English. However, the wife of Japazaws was consumed with a great and urgent desire to see an English ship. Her husband stubbornly refused to allow her to go on such a visit, and declared that if she said anything more about it he would give her a good whipping. As was anticipated, the tender heart of the Indian maiden was touched, and out of sheer pity she agreed to go with the woman if her husband would permit. Japazaws yielded reluctantly, and the three of them were taken aboard the ship. They remained to supper. The old chief and his wife, like silly children, were greatly elated at the success of their scheme, and kept tramping on Argall's toes under the table in their glee and excitement. When it was told to Pocahontas that she was a prisoner and would be taken to Jamestown, Japazaws and his loving spouse set up a great howl of lamentation. The old people being taken ashore, however, became at once greatly pleased in the possession of the copper kettle and some other trifling trinkets. Pocahontas was reassured by Argall, who told her that she should be treated kindly and would have every protection, and that by such a means as her captivity he expected to be able to establish permanent peace relations between the Englishmen and her father. On the return to Jamestown Captain Argall sent forthwith messengers to Powhatan, telling him that he held as hostage his "delight and darling, his daughter Poca-

hontas," and that if he would send home the Englishmen that be held in captivity, and the tools and arms that the Indians had gotten and stolen, together with a quantity of corn, his daughter would be restored to him; otherwise she would be kept as a prisoner. Powhatan appeared to be in great distress over these tidings. On the one hand he had a very great affection for his daughter, and on the other hand he was mightily enamored of the English weapons which had come into his possession. He could not make up his mind which horn of the dilemma to lay hold of. He therefore pursued the policy of masterful inactivity and refused either horn of the dilemma. As many as three months passed before the Englishmen and Pocahontas received any answer to this proposition. At the expiration of that time, however, Powhatan sent to the Governor, by way of ransom, seven Englishmen, three muskets, one broad-ax, a whip-saw and a canoe full of corn. He sent a message saying in effect that when his daughter was delivered up he would still further satisfy all injuries by furnishing the Englishmen with a large quantity of corn, and would be forever their friend. This advance payment was received by the English, and they sent a message to Powhatan, saying: "Your daughter shall be well used, but we cannot believe that the rest of our arms were either lost or stolen from you, and therefore until you send them we will keep your daughter." The old chief was greatly grieved and offended at this answer, and for a long time had no intercourse with the English. Finally, in the spring of 1612, Governor Dale, taking with him Pocahontas and one hundred and fifty men, in the vessels of the colony, went on a visit to Powhatan. The Indian chief refused to see them on their arrival. Dale told the Indians that he had brought Pocahontas, and was anxious to deliver her back into the hands of her father, provided Powhatan would return the rest of the Englishmen re-

maining in captivity and the arms that had not been surrendered. The Indians received these propositions with scorn and threats and in open hostility. Some slight skirmishes ensued between the two forces, in which some Indian houses were burned. The Indians declared that the imprisoned Englishmen had been sent away for safety, as they were in fear of being hung by their own countrymen, but that Powhatan had sent some of his men to bring them back. They declared that these prisoners, with the withheld swords and muskets, should be returned the following day. It was evident that they were playing for time. In the meantime two brothers of Pocahontas came to visit her on the ship anchored in the river. They seemed to be greatly overjoyed to find her in such good health and contentment, for they had been told that her health was poor and that she was very unhappy. While these Indian youths were making their visit to their sister, Mr. Rolfe and Mr. Sparks were sent to interview Powhatan. They were accorded every hospitality, but were denied the presence of the great chief. Powhatan refused to see his daughter or to return the prisoners and arms, or to enter into any sort of arrangement for peace. The Englishmen were obliged to return to Jamestown, for it was now time that they should be about the planting of the crops for the new year.

Pocahontas remained a nominal prisoner at Jamestown for about a year. She was treated with marked consideration and kindness by every one. She had always had the warmest feeling for the English settlers, and her life of imprisonment was not altogether a hardship. She was now a woman about eighteen or nineteen years old.

Amongst the colonists who took great interest in the princess was a Mr. John Rolfe, who was a widower of not very many months' standing, and who is described as an "honest gentleman of good behavior;" "an honest and discreet

The Marriage of Pocahontas.

James's Fort, 1614.

English gentleman;" "a gentleman of approved behavior and honest carriage." Along with Somers and Gates, he had been wrecked on the Bermuda Islands in 1609, and with them he reached Virginia in May, 1610, bringing his wife and his child, born while they lingered with the wrecked party on the Bermuda Islands. Mr. Rolfe exhibited great concern as to the conversion of Pocahontas to the Christian faith, and sought with persistent assiduity to bring her within the Christian fold. While he was in the prosecution of this most worthy purpose, he conceived the idea of marrying the Indian maiden, and from all appearances fell very much in love with her. It has, however, been suggested that Mr. Rolfe was not altogether free from some ulterior ends. It was suspected of him that he had concluded that such an alliance might in some way accrue to his advantage before the English court, and might secure for him some title to leadership in America. At any rate, Rolfe wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Dale asking his advice about marrying the maiden. Sir Thomas thought it a great scheme, and gave prompt and hearty consent. Moreover, Pocahontas informed one of her brothers of her tender attachment for Mr. Rolfe. Powhatan, when informed of this matrimonial scheme, seems to have been as immensely pleased with the idea as all others were. When the time for the marriage approached, he sent an old uncle and two brothers of Pocahontas to Jamestown as his deputies to witness the marriage of his daughter. It was thought that it would never in the world do for so pious a man as Mr. Rolfe to be unequally yoked with the pagan maiden, and it was determined that before the marriage was celebrated she must be baptized into the Christian communion and take upon herself a Christian name. Accordingly she was baptized, and called in her christening "Rebecca," and because she was a king's daughter she was entitled to be known as the "Lady Rebecca."

Early in April, 1613, the Lady Rebecca and Mr. John Rolfe were united in marriage in the old church at Jamestown. The Indian bride was accompanied by her two brothers, and at the altar she was given away by her old uncle. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. Alexander Whitaker. The wedding is mentioned in some of the old records only as an incident related to the welfare of the colony. It seems a great pity that there was not a more elaborate and detailed record made of this unique alliance. The colonists evidently regarded it as a most auspicious event, and thought that it would prove to be a powerful factor in the maintenance of amicable relations with Powhatan and his people.

It may not be uninteresting to raise the question here of her former marriage to an Indian chief. Mr. Strachey alone furnishes ground for such a view. In speaking of Powhatan's family he uses this language: "And besides young Pocahontas, a daughter of his, use some time to our fort in times passed, now married to a private captain called 'Kococum,' some two years since." In view of this statement some historians speak of her as having been separated from her Indian husband, and others as being a widow. It is not by any means improbable that Mr. Strachey was in some confusion about this matter. He had been away from the settlement two years before his account was written. His information must have been, therefore, only hearsay. It would have been easy to have confused the name of Pocahontas with some other daughter of Powhatan's, or he might have confused the name of Captain Kococum with that of Captain Rolfe. The name "captain" was rarely given to an Indian, so it is not improbable that Mr. Strachey had heard only of the marriage of Pocahontas to Captain Rolfe. Other than this statement of Mr. Strachey's there seems to be no foundation for the suggestion that she had been married before.

The hopes touching the effect of this marriage upon the relations of the settlers to the Indians were in a very great part realized, for from the day of the marriage the English traded on friendly terms with Powhatan and his people. As far as the old chief was concerned, he never violated the peace that was thus brought about.

After the marriage of Pocahontas and Mr. Rolfe, they went to live at Rolfe's home, "Varina," in one of the new settlements along the James River, known as Bermuda Hundred. Here lived Mr. Whitaker, who had charge of the spiritual interests of the plantation, and also Sir Thomas Dale made this his place of residence instead of Jamestown.

Speaking of Pocahontas after her marriage, Sir Thomas Dale declared, "She lived civilly and lovingly with her husband, and I trust will increase in goodness as the knowledge of God increases in her. She will come to England with me, and were it but the gaining of this one soul, I will think my time, toil and present time as well spent."

These three, Dale, Whitaker and Rolfe, gave themselves enthusiastically and industriously to the instruction of Pocahontas, both in the matter of religion and in making her acquainted with the English tongue and customs. She was an eager and an apt pupil. She had always been interested in all things appertaining to the English people, and now gave herself with great zeal to the task of becoming familiar with the traditions and forms of English life. It was at her home, "Varina," that her little son, Thomas Rolfe, was born.

When Dale, in 1616, embarked for England, he carried with him Mr. Rolfe, his wife and child, Tomocomo, and other Indians of both sexes. The vessel reached Plymouth in June, 1616. Immediately upon the arrival of Pocahontas she became the guest of the Virginia Company, who provided measures for the support and entertainment of her and her child.

Great interest was taken in her by all classes of people, but especially by persons of great rank and calling, she being regarded as a real princess, the daughter of a King in the wilderness, who ruled, as did English sovereigns, by divine right. Tomocomo excited widespread interest and curiosity, he being looked upon as an "understanding fellow." Powhatan had given him certain important missions to be discharged. One of his duties while abroad was to count all the English people, and to be able to give, on his return, an exact idea of their strength. He was also charged with the task of ascertaining if there were any forests or grain in the country. He was also, when opportunity was furnished, to seek an introduction to the God of the Englishmen. He said to Captain Smith: "Powhatan did bid me to find you out to show me your God, and the King and Queen and princes you so much told us." "Concerning God," said Smith, "I told him the best I could. The King he heard of he had seen, and the rest he should see when he would."

On the occasion of this visit to England on the part of Pocahontas, John Smith sought in her behalf the favor of Queen Anne. He addressed to her a letter in which he recited the virtues of Pocahontas and her services to him and to the English colony, telling for the first time the story of the rescue of his life by Pocahontas. On account of these things he asked for her queenly consideration of the Indian maiden. It seems that Smith was somewhat delayed in seeing Pocahontas, and somewhat formal in his conduct in her presence, and that his conduct greatly distressed her. The truth is that she had been led to believe that he was dead, and was as much surprised to find him alive as she was pained by his distant and formal treatment. What the necessity was for telling her that Smith was dead is not very clearly shown. There is the inevitable presumption that those next

to her and Mr. Rolfe suspected an ardent attachment on her part for Smith, and not until she was assured of his death could there be any hope that Mr. Rolfe might press his suit successfully. Such deceit seems to be utterly incongruous with the pious protestations of Mr. Rolfe, who sought above all things her conversion to Christianity. However these things may be, Pocahontas was greatly distressed that Smith should treat her in any way than as a father should treat a child. She said to Smith: "You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you. You called him 'Father,' being in his land a stranger, and for the same reason so must I do to you." Smith protested, and explained that their relations could not be in England as they were in America, and that he "durst not allow that title, because she was regarded as a King's daughter." "Were you not afraid," said Pocahontas, "to come into my father's country and cause fear in him and all his people but me, and fear you here I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call me chid, and so I will be forever and ever your countryman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other until I came to Plymouth."

During his brief stay in London Captain Smith saw much of Pocahontas, and was pleased to introduce to her many courtiers and other friends who wished to know the Indian lady. "The gentlemen," said Smith, "generally concluded they did think God had a great hand in her conversion, and said they had seen many English ladies worse favored, proportioned and behavioured." Pocahontas was presented to the court, accompanied by Lady Delaware, and met both King James and his wife, Queen Anne.

Captain Argall was about to sail for Virginia as Governor of the colony. It was determined that the party, except the other Indians, should return with him. While in England a

portrait of Pocahontas was made, and beneath the portrait was this inscription: "Matoax als Rebecca, daughter to the mighty Prince Powhatan, Emperor of Attanough-Kornouck als Virginia, converted and baptized in the Christian faith, and wife to the worshipful Mr. John Rolfe, age 21, Anno Domini 1616." There is also an idealized portrait by the artist Sully, but unfortunately there is nothing to indicate the Indian maiden as she really was in the wilderness of Virginia.

Pocahontas seemed to be unwilling to leave England, and, indeed, she was destined never again to see Virginia. She was seized with galloping consumption and died, it is said, with her face towards the sea, at Gravesend, on the eve of her departure for America. Smith, in his history, speaks of her death in this wise: "It pleased God, at Gravesend, to take this young lady to His mercy, where she made not more sorrow for her unexpected death than joy to the beholders to hear and see her make so religious and godly an end."

Her child, Thomas Rolfe, was left in England under the care of his uncle, Mr. H. Rolfe, a merchant in London. He was educated in England, and afterwards returned to America, and from him are descended some of the most respectable and worthy families of Virginia. Among them were such families as Murray, Fleming, Gay, Whittle, Robertson, Bolling and Eldridge, as well as the branch of Randolphs to which the famous John Randolph of Roanoke belonged.

One turns naturally to Mrs. Sigourney's poems for a concluding verse:

"The council fires are quenched that erst so red
Their midnight volume 'mid the groves entwined.
King, stately chief, warrior host, are dead,
Nor remnant nor memory left behind.
But thou, O forest princess! true of heart
When o'er our fathers waved destruction's dart,
Shalt in their children's loving hearts be shrined;
Pure, lovely star o'er oblivion's wave,
It is not meet thy name should moulder in the grave."

CHAPTER VII.

THE TRAVAIL OF THE NATION.

Nations are born as individuals, in pain and suffering. There seems to be a necessity in the Divine order that there should always be in a national life a preliminary stage of painful waiting and delay. Out of the hot fires of sorrow and trial is born that solidarity that makes national life possible and real. This country has been no exception to God's great order. In the travail of brave settlers and heroic pioneers the nation came to its life.

The exuberant spirits of the colonists incident to their first landing at Jamestown slowly passed away as the summer and fall approached. It soon began to dawn upon these adventurers that they were not out on a picnic. After the excitement of their first contact with the New World they were confronted with the grave and practical work of maintaining themselves under strange and unpropitious circumstances.

It has already been remarked that the location of Jamestown Island was unfortunate because of its unsanitary conditions and lack of wholesome drinking water. The colonists were at first dependent upon the brackish water of the river, which, even at lowest ebb tide, was salt almost to bitterness, and at flood tide was quite impossible as drinking water. Somewhat later they resorted to the expedient of digging a well, but a shallow well under such conditions of soil would furnish water perhaps even less wholesome than the river. Besides, the surrounding country was full of malaria. On

these accounts, even if everything had been favorable, it would have been easy to have foretold coming sickness and distress.

The supplies that were brought over were totally unfit and inadequate. If one thinks that the system of graft is by any means a modern American institution, one has only to read the history of the early dealings of the London Company with avaricious merchants of the day to find that it was practiced with consummate skill in the early years of the seventeenth century. It was anticipated, to be sure, that these settlers would immediately find in their new surroundings foodstuffs with which to supplement their meagre stock, but for various reasons of one sort and another, it seemed impossible for them to do so. Only in the most desultory way did they add anything to their slender resources. Their main dependence seemed to have been put upon the things that would be furnished them from England.

Only the smallest proportion of the first colonists were fitted for a life of service, either by training or by tradition. Some of them belonged to a class known as "gentlemen," of whom was not expected any very real service. Yet in common fairness it ought to be said that these "gentlemen" responded in a most surprising way to the demands that were made upon them. It was a thing commonly observed in the War between the States that the petted sons of fond mothers and doting fathers, leaving homes of luxury and ease, bore the hardships of the camp and battle more successfully than their fellow soldiers who were used to the harder ways of life. So it seems it was with the "gentlemen" among the first settlers of Virginia. Smith, in his history, makes the following comment upon the conduct of these "gentlemen" when they were set to the task of cutting down trees and making clapboards: "Strange were the pleasures to their conditions, yet lodging, eating and drinking, working or playing, they

were doing as the president did himselfe. All these things were carried on so pleasantly that within a weeke they became masters, making it their delight to heare the trees thunder as they fell. But the axes so often blistered their tender fingers that many times every third blow had a loud othe to drown the echo, for remedie of which sinne the president devised to have every man's othes numbered at night, and for every othe to have a Canne of water powrd downe his sleeve, with which every offender was so washed himself that a man scarce could heare an othe in a weeke." And there is added this significant statement: "Let no man thinke that the president and these gentlemen were pressed to it as hirelings, for what they did after they were but once a little inured, seemed only pleasure." Had Smith rested his case with these statements, the reputation of these "gentlemen" as hard laborers would have been better, but he added: "Yet thirty or forty of such voluntary gentlemen would do more in a day than one hundred of the rest that must be pressed to it by compulsion, but twenty good workmen had been better than them all."

Others of these settlers were from a class of adventurers, of whom service could be expected only in exploration of the country and in encounter with the natives. Still others were of a vagabond class who had done no work at home, and were, of course, indisposed to it under new conditions. The residue fitted and willing for service was pitifully small. It would be difficult to find in the annals of colonization a group of men so poorly adapted to the circumstances into the midst of which they had been thrust.

Over this incompetent group of people was placed a most incompetent leadership. Unfortunately, the first presidents of the Council, Wingfield and Ratcliffe, were both unfit and inexperienced. They had no idea at all of the requirements

of the exigency upon which they had come. They did not know which way to turn, nor what to advise, nor what to perform. Until the election of Captain John Smith, confusion and anarchy reigned among the little company. His strong hand, large experience and wise counsel brought about a somewhat changed condition; but his leadership, alas! was called into requisition too late and was lost all too soon to avoid the disasters for which they had already been foredoomed.

The unreasonable insistence of the authorities in London over the search for the northwestern passage and for mines of gold and silver contributed not a little to the sorrowful disasters that came upon the colony. If the time and energy spent in the effort to accomplish these two impossible things had been directed to the planting of corn, improvement of their sanitary conditions and the betterment of their homes, there can be no doubt but that the calamities that came upon them might have been, if not wholly avoided, greatly mitigated.

When Captain Newport sailed away for England in the latter part of June, 1607, the settlers for the first time were made to realize that all communications between them and their old home were cut off; for just how long, nobody could tell. They at once entered upon an era of sickness and suffering scarcely paralleled in the history of colonization. Mr. George Percy, a brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and one of the early settlers, in a paper called "Percy's Discourse," a manuscript which was preserved by Mr. Hakluyt and published by Mr. Brown in his "Genesis of a Nation" for the first time in this country, speaking of the conditions in 1607, said:

"Captain Newport being gone for England, leaving us (one hundred persons) verie bare and scantie of victualls, furthermore in warres and in danger of savages, wee hoped after a supply which Captain Newport promised within twentie weeks." And then he gave the roll of the dead:

"On the 6th of August, there died John Asbie, of a bloudie flixe; the 9th day died George Flowre, of the swelling; the 10th day died William Bruster, a gentleman, of a wound given by a savage; the 14th day Jerome Alikock (ancient), died of a wound; the same day Francis Midwinter and Edwin Morris, corporal, died suddenly." From August to September there died twenty-three, among them Captain Gosnold. "He was honorably buried, having all the ordinance of the Fort shot off with many volleys of small shot. Our men were destroyed with cruel diseases as swellings, flixes, burning fevers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but the most part of them died of mere famine. There were never Englishmen left in a foreigne countrie in such miserie as wee were in this new discovered Virginia. Wee watched every three nights, lying on the bare, cold ground, what weather soever came. Warded all the next day which brought our men to bee the most feeble wretches. Our food being a small tin of barley sod in water for five men a day; our drink cold water taken out of the river, which at flood tide was verie salt, and at low tide was full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we lived for a space of five months in this miserable distress, not having five able men to man our bulwarks upon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to put a terrour in the savages' hearts, we had all perished by those wild and cruel pagans, being in that weak estate as we were. Our men night and day groaning in every corner of the fort, most pittiful to heare, if there were any conscience in men it would make their hearts bleed to hear the pittiful murmurings and outcries of our sick men without relief. Every night and day for the space of six weeks, some departing out of the world, many times three or four in the night, and in the morning their bodies trailed out of their cabins like doggs to be buried. In this sort did I see the mortalitie of divers of

our people. It pleased God after a while to send the people which were our mortal enemies, to relieve us with victualls as bread, corn, fish, and flesh in great plentie, which was the setting up of our feeble men, otherwise wee had all perished."

Before the winter had come, out of the hundred men who had been left by Newport, only about fifty were left alive.

With the approach of winter the condition of things seemed to have been greatly improved. Smith, by a sort of general consent, seemed now to have got things pretty well in his own hands. The members of the Council had nearly all died during the summer, and it was not felt necessary that their places should be filled. Smith had been able to secure from the Indians provisions which seemed to be enough to put them through the coming winter. He had succeeded in making their homes a little more comfortable, and was reasonably well prepared for the winter. His recent dealings with the Indians not only secured for them supplies, but seemed to have established amicable relations, so that he was entering upon the winter not greatly disturbed by any apprehensions from that quarter.

Newport returned with the first supply early in January, 1608, bringing about one hundred and twenty settlers, among them thirty-three gentlemen and twenty-one laborers. On the night of his arrival a fire broke out and consumed the fort, storehouses and most of the cabins in which the people were lodged. Only three houses were left standing. As if fate was truly against the settlement, the winter proved doubly hard and severe. But the colonists somehow managed to pull through the long winter months without any serious loss, and with the opening of the spring they set themselves about the improving of their conditions. On Newport's departure, Smith managed the colony well, and the settlers spent the summer in building their houses.

In September, 1608, Newport returned with the second supply, containing some seventy settlers, among them twenty-eight gentlemen, fourteen tradesmen, and twelve laborers. This supply, like the first, was really a very small addition to the comfort and welfare of the colony. The supplies that were brought over from England were always inferior in quality and insufficient in quantity. It was complained, not without reason, that the new settlers brought over with each supply, instead of being helpful, proved to be a burden; and instead of simplifying the situation, greatly embarrassed and complicated it. If the settlers could have been left at home and the supplies, meagre as they were, brought over alone, the situation might have been improved. As it was, conditions remained as grave as they possibly could be. Full of foreboding and distrust, Smith set about the preparations for the winter of 1608-1609. Smith was further embarrassed by the unreasonable and hard requirements that Newport had brought back from the London Company on his second return. Already the patrons of the company were impatient for returns and intolerant of excuse or delay; hence the company asked that there must be some return for the expenditures that had been made. The company especially exacted one of three things, upon the return of Newport, at the hands of the colonists: that some gold and silver be sent back, or that the discovery of the northwestern passage be assured, or that at least one of the lost colony of Roanoke Island be found and sent back to England.

Moreover, the company complained of the management of the colony; so Captain John Smith, in his brave and brusque and withal sane and level-headed style, wrote to the company a letter known as "Smith's Rude Answer," exhibiting great boldness and exceeding wisdom. In reply to the complaint that the colony was full of factions, and that Smith was withholding important information, he made answer that he was

not responsible for these dissensions, nor could he prevent them; and furthermore, that he had not withheld from them any knowledge that he possessed, but that he feared that "they had come to believe even much more than was true." He furthermore stated that while he had carried out their instructions in relation to the coronation of Powhatan, he had not a particle of sympathy in any such proceeding. He declared: "I fear they will be the confusion of us all ere we hear from you again." There is proof that others shared with Smith in his foreboding as to the result of these coronation circumstances. It was evidently apprehended that Powhatan, already thinking sufficiently well of himself, would be encouraged to arrogate to himself hereafter extraordinary privileges and rights. As to the finding of the passage to the South Seas and the discovery of gold and silver, or the effort to find any of the lost colony of Roanoke Island, Smith ventured to suggest that time spent in those directions would be wasted, and had better be put upon more important concerns. He suggested that they be somewhat more careful in their selection of settlers that they were sending from time to time. He wrote: "When you send againe I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have; for except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything." He closed this remarkable answer with these words: "And I humbly intreat you hereafter, let us know what we should receive, and not stand to the saylers' courtesie to leave us what they please, els you may charge us what you will, but we not you with anything. These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia from laying such a foundation that ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction;

but as yet you must not looke for any profitable returns; so I humbly rest."

Newport remained in the colony for several months, a disturber of the peace, making dissensions wherever he could, and constantly adding fuel to the flames of discontent and strife. He allowed himself to be drawn into the conspiracy that sought to depose Smith as president. Not until the end of the year 1608 did he sail for England, carrying with him Smith's rude answer, and a cargo of such "pitch, tar, glass and soap ashes" as the colonists had been able to get ready.

There were left behind him two hundred settlers. Smith secured by compulsion from Powhatan and Opechancanough corn and other supplies for their sustenance during the coming winter, and although the settlers did not take proper care of this valuable store, their sufferings were not very severe. It was, however, found necessary that some of the settlers should be sent to live among the Indians, while others were sent to catch fish in the James River, providing in this way a supply of sturgeon meat. During the winter Smith sought to carry out the instructions that had come from the company in London, and sent a party to search for the lost colony of Roanoke.

The spring of 1609 found most of the settlers alive and in good health, and the men went eagerly to work planting crops, strengthening the palisades and improving their houses.

In the meantime the London Company had secured a new charter and had appointed Lord Delaware as Governor and Captain-General of Virginia. Nine vessels were fitted out and dispatched to Virginia with five hundred settlers. Seven of these vessels, after having experienced severe storms, arrived at Jamestown in August, 1609, bringing the third supply. Among the influential men of this new instalment were two of Smith's old enemies, Archer and Ratcliffe. Ratcliffe had

been deposed from the presidency of the colony for inefficiency, and had been sent back home. In some way he succeeded in having himself restored to favor, and came back evidently agreeing with Archer to make it as disagreeable for Smith as possible. Ratcliffe came to an untimely end before he had been able to do much mischief. In undertaking to deal with the Indians as he had seen Smith do, he fell into an ambuscade, was captured and cruelly tortured to death.

It seemed that no one in the new supply brought any commission to dislodge and succeed Smith. As delegates of Lord Delaware there were only three gentlemen, Sir George Somers, Sir Thomas Gates and Captain Newport, who were equipped with this official prerequisite. These had, for some reason, gotten themselves all together in the same boat, which boat was separated from the fleet and eventually wrecked upon the shores of the Bermudas. Smith's term of office had not yet expired, and though no one had a commission to displace him, Archer, Ratcliffe and their followers sought to usurp the government. Smith, however, proved himself equal to the emergency, arrested the malcontents, and sent Captain West, a brother of Lord Delaware, with one hundred and twenty others, to make a settlement where Richmond now stands. As has already been stated, Smith, on returning from this plantation to Jamestown, was severely wounded, and was forced to return to England for medical treatment.

It was a bad day for the settlement when Smith left it. It would be too much to say that the disasters which came upon them would have been avoided had he remained at Jamestown; it is not too much to say, however, that many of these disasters would have been avoided and the colonists would have been saved, at least, from some of the awful sufferings that followed. At any rate, there would have been among them a brave and untiring soldier, exemplifying

fortitude and exhibiting utter unselfishness in his care for those under his charge.

If the sufferings of the colonists had already been great, they were not to be compared with the calamities through which they were to go in the winter of 1609-1610. There is not a more pitiful annal than the story of that long, hard winter. Their supplies were soon exhausted; the Indians had been offended and alienated, and were now using every opportunity to harass and destroy the settlers. It soon became impossible for these wretched colonists, shut in at Jamestown, to secure food to save themselves from starvation. The shallow well from which they got their drinking water proved to be full of deadly poison. They fell sick in great numbers, and those who were not sick were so starved as to be unable to care for the sick or to procure food. The horses, cattle and hogs that had been brought over for breeding purposes were all slaughtered and eaten. Then they ate dogs, rats and adders; every sort of living thing upon which they could lay their hands they ate. First an Indian who had been killed was eaten; a poor wretch killed his own wife, eating a part of her and salting down the remainder for future use. For this crime he was burned at the stake. Men in their suffering and desolation flung away their Bibles and cried out in rebellion against God. They went into the winter five hundred in number; they came out of the winter with only sixty-five stricken and wasted wretches. Such was the tragedy of the "Starving Time."

Rescue came in a way that they had least anticipated. In the instalment of settlers that had come over in August, 1609, two of the vessels had become separated from the fleet—one was lost and the other was wrecked upon the shores of the Bermuda Islands. Strangely enough, in this vessel, which was called the Sea Venture, Newport, Gates

and Somers, with their families, sailed together. It is supposed that these three kept together because each was jealous of the other, it having been apprehended that the first to arrive would have command of the colony. The commanders of this wrecked party set about immediately to build vessels in which the voyage to Jamestown might be continued and completed. Two small boats were constructed, named the Patience and Deliverance. After loading them with such supplies as could be found upon the island, such as turtles, salt fish and salt fowl, the wrecked and delayed party set sail for Jamestown, arriving there in the spring of 1610. The church bell was rung, and the wasted and starved colonists were summoned to the dilapidated church to greet these men who had brought rescue, and to return thanks for their deliverance. It was soon discovered, however, that the supplies which they brought would scarcely last longer than two or three weeks. After a conference it was decided that the whole company should return to England, going by way of Newfoundland, where they hoped to fall in with English fishermen and thereby be able to replenish their store of provisions. Accordingly, in four small vessels the entire party embarked, leaving the town standing, as it was decided that it had better not be burned. When they had about reached the mouth of the James River they met ships coming from England under the command of Lord Delaware. He issued command that the entire party should return at once to Jamestown. Many of the settlers who had passed through that dreadful winter obeyed most reluctantly. However, all hands returned to the island and landed on the next day at Jamestown.

On reaching the shore, Lord Delaware fell upon his knees and gave thanks for the wonderful deliverance that had been brought to the settlers, and invoked the Divine blessing and guidance for the years that were to come.

In many ways the coming of Lord Delaware proved to be a real blessing to the Virginia colonists, and was really the turning point in the career of the settlers. He brought over many things that would contribute to the growth and well-being of the colony. His administration, though attended with considerable pomp and display that seemed to be utterly incongruous with his immediate surroundings, was on the whole satisfactory and prosperous. But he himself became discontented in the midst of his new surroundings. He determined to govern the colony by deputy and to return to England. He gave as his excuse that he was not able physically to stand the climate in Virginia. With all the ailments that he represented himself to have had, had he possessed the lives of a dozen men instead of one, it would have been marvelous for him to have escaped a grave with the others at Jamestown. However, he sailed away for England in March, 1611, leaving as his representative George Percy, who had been in charge of the colony during the terrible winter of 1610.

It would seem, with the experience that the colonists had gathered and the new life that had come in with the additional supplies, that their sufferings would now be at an end, and that they might face the future more confident of health and prosperity than ever before. If Lord Delaware might have continued his wise and kindly rule, this might have been true. To be sure, there never came to them again such famine and pestilence through which they had already passed, but hardship and trial awaited them for some years yet to come. Soon after Lord Delaware's departure there came over as High Marshal of Virginia, Sir Thomas Dale, who was the especial friend of Prince Henry, and who was appointed upon the prince's earnest commendation. He had been a soldier and was a man of iron will, and of heart seemingly as hard as his will. He set about at once to rule the colony with the

most strict and heartless absolutism. He tolerated interference from no quarter whatever; he was the absolute and undisputed autocrat of the colony. It was worth a man's life to raise any question of his right or authority. Matters of life and death were altogether in his hands, and from him there was no appeal. And yet his administration was in many things exceeding wise, and in the long run was no doubt wholesome and beneficent for the settlers. Out of the chaos and confusion into which the colony had fallen, he brought order and system. Every man was put instantly to work. The old socialistic idea of working for a common fund was abandoned. He divided the land into small plots and distributed them among the settlers, requiring that every man diligently cultivate the plot allotted to him. This was a vast improvement, although the exactions required of the settlers were so large as to leave little for individual profit or gain. Dale's whole idea was to make money for the company, and if he used the colony justly and wisely, it was in order that he might get the better results and service out of them. As time wore on, instead of growing softer and kinder in his rule, he seemed to become harder and more tyrannical. The penalty of death was inflicted with undignified flippancy and unprecedented frequency. This sort of administration could not be maintained without exciting great dissatisfaction, and the discontent of the settlers was widespread; and yet, for fear of punishment, it was concealed as much as possible. In making up an estimate of Dale's administration, there is no little confusion on account of the mixed testimony one finds. It will be discovered that the friends of the company, even the best of them, give hearty endorsement to his administration and speak of him as being the saviour of the colony. They testified not only to the wisdom of his rule, but, strangely enough, to the piety of it. On the other hand,

the testimony of those who lived in the colony under his administration is that he was a hard-hearted taskmaster, and that his administration was marked with a cruelty as unnecessary as it was wicked. However all this may be, it is very plain that such administration as his was a part of that disciplinary training through which the new nation had to pass.

In 1616 Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, leaving Mr. George Yeardley as deputy governor. Yeardley was a wise and an energetic man, and might be called the first political economist of America. He first came to Virginia with Somers in 1610, and was with the party shipwrecked on the Bermuda Islands. During the time of Dale's administration he was a member of the colony, and had control of the plantation of "Flower de Hundred." Here he introduced the first windmill in America, and brought over the first real herd of blooded cattle, having imported a herd of twenty-four cows. He planted much Indian corn and wheat, and advocated the fertilization of the soil with marl. He was quick to observe the success that had attended John Rolf's experiments in the raising of tobacco, and lost no time in encouraging its general cultivation. But he remained deputy Governor only for a year, and was succeeded by Argall.

Argall was from the beginning a thief and a grafter of the deepest dye. He robbed the colony of everything that could be moved. He had for his partner at home a man by the name of Rich, who secured contracts from the London Company for furnishing supplies to the colonists. So while Argall robbed the colonists abroad, Rich took care of the friends at home. The settlers were unable, under such nefarious rule, to lay by anything for themselves. They simply toiled as slaves whipped to their labors, and the results of their toil went into the pockets of their shameless Governor; so, however they might labor, their poverty, hunger and dis-

tress still continued. The conduct of Argall became so open and outrageous that, in 1618, he was finally recalled and Sir George Yeardley made Governor of Virginia.

Under the change of administration, both in the London Company and in the colony, Virginia was now to enter upon a new career. While all the problems of the colony were not solved, nor all the difficulties passed, the future was assured. The long night of the "Starvation Times" was passed, and the dawn of a new day had come. The travail of the nation was over, and a new people was to take its place among the nations of the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA.

It is pretty well known that Virginia was the first permanent English settlement in America; that she was the first colony to have slaves, and also was the first colony to have a legislative assembly. But it is not as well known as it might be that it was also the first colony to plan for an institution of learning. The unfortunate utterance of Governor Berkeley when he said, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years," has been quoted as representing the spirit and method of the first colony in Virginia with reference to education, when the truth of the matter is that one of the very first enterprises toward which the best thought of those interested in the life of the colony was directed was concerning the education especially of the children of the aborigines.

There was established in the city of Henrico, located at a point on James River now known as Dutch Gap, a school that was intended to be the first university in America. This little town was first named in 1611. It was planned by Sir Thomas Dale, and was intended by him to be the future capital of Virginia. It contained as many as three streets of well-framed houses, a church, and was protected by five blockhouses, with a ditch and paling over a mile in length. From the very form of Henrico the idea of a school was clearly prominent. In the grant which was made for the establishment of a town, reference was made to a college immediately

to be built and also for a university in the course of time. The school was built, to be sure, with the idea of educating the Indians alone, and it was planned to have a free school in Charles City county as a feeder for the college.

The history of this school is meagre, but the records of the London Company from April 28, 1619, to June 27, 1624, are well preserved, and mention is made here and there of the Henrico colony. There are also some letters of the period that allude to the beginnings of the college. In 1618 Governor Yeardley was instructed to choose a suitable site at Henrico and to prepare for the building of the college.

In the records of the company in May, 1609, there is a statement that King James, in 1618, had authorized the bishops and clergy of England to make a collection for the college and university in the Colony of Virginia, and the report was made to the company that £1,500 had been collected for this purpose; and it was further resolved that certain lands in Henrico should be laid out for a college, on which fifty persons should be situated, and that one-half of the revenues of these lands should go toward the maintenance of the institution of learning. A month later a board of trustees was nominated by the company, to be under the control of the Privy Council of England. This board of trustees was to provide for instructors, and to direct other matters relating to the institution.

While this was going on in England, Sir George Yeardley had arrived at Jamestown, and he immediately called a grand assembly of twenty-two burgesses from the eleven plantations then constituting the colony. Among the things considered by this first House of Burgesses were the resolutions with reference to the college. One of these resolutions provided that each plantation should maintain a certain number of native children, who should be prepared by instruction so that they

would be ready to enter college. Another resolution requested the company to send to the colony some good carpenters to proceed with the building of the institution.

These laws were passed before the Pilgrim Fathers had even landed at Plymouth, and were without doubt approved by the company, for we are told that the company requested that the proprietors of Smith's Hundred in Virginia, on the James River, educate a certain number of young Indians, and promised the sum of £550 should this be done. The proprietors asked to be relieved from this obligation, offering £100 to the company, but their request was not granted.

Later in the same year, at the suggestion of Sir Edwin Sandys, it was proposed that three hundred tenants be placed upon the public lands in Virginia—one hundred on the Governor's land, one hundred on the company's land, and one hundred on the college land. Sir Edwin calculated that this would yield a revenue of £3,000 per year, and thus the college lands would yield £1,000. The amount of land set aside for the whole educational plan was ten thousand acres, of which one thousand acres should be used for the college, the other nine thousand acres to be developed and the increase to be kept for a proposed large university. Shortly after this, May 11, 1620, George Thorpe was sent out as a deputy to govern the college lands. He was, therefore, the first superintendent of the school property of Virginia. The company had in mind that Thorpe should get under way the buildings to receive the rector and instructors to be sent later. He was specially instructed to have a house built for a clergyman who should reside at Henrico.

Under the direction of Thorpe ten tenants were placed upon the lands of the college, and soon after the number was increased. The Rev. Mr. Copland, in England, taking a deep interest in educational matters, proposed that a free school

be established at Charles City, now City Point. One thousand acres of land were appropriated for the purpose, and five persons were sent to work upon it. This school was to be preparatory to the college at Henrico. An usher was appointed, but he declined the honor unless he could have the title of master. A number of donations were made in England, such as a communion table and set, £550 in gold, and a library valued at one hundred marks. Nicholas Farrar, in his will, left £300 to the college, to be paid as soon as ten young savages had been placed in the institution; "in the meantime four and twenty pounds yearly to bee distributed unto three discreet and godly young men in the colony to bring up three wilde young infidels in some good course in life." Later on George Ruggles gave a legacy of £100.

Finally, in July, 1622, the company elected the Rev. Patrick Copland as rector of the institution. This was done just a few days before the news of the massacre of March 22, 1622, reached England. On that day the Indians, headed by their old chief, Opechancanough, rose up and destroyed 347 men, women and children out of a total population numbering about 1,258 persons. But for the news which was brought to the settlers by a converted Indian who had been christened under the name of "Perry," Jamestown and other of the lower settlements would have been destroyed. As it was, the town of Henrico was totally annihilated, and George Thorpe, the superintendent of college lands, was killed, and seventeen of the college tenants perished with him. Thus came to an end the proposed college.

The Colonial Dames of America (Chapter I.), deploring the neglect of these facts in Virginia's history, have offered to the Johns Hopkins University a medallion, to be conferred annually upon some graduate or student of the university for the best essay on American history. The medallion con-

tains this inscription: "The University of Henrico, destroyed in the massacre March 22, 1622." In the centre of the medallion is George Thorpe, and behind him stand his tenants, while in front are the Indians rushing upon them.

Though the massacre was a terrible blow, the company did not at once abandon the idea of a college. A new superintendent of the lands was appointed, but to no avail, as the settlers absolutely refused to rebuild the city of Henrico. The company, however, constantly bore in mind the need of educational facilities in Virginia, and instructions were given to Sir Francis Wyatt to see that the children were taught in every town and borough so that they might be prepared for college. It is also on record that carpenters came in the good ship Abigail to build the East India School at Charles City.

The colony was divided into parishes, and there is every reason to believe that instruction was carried on in every one of these parishes.

In 1635 it is recorded that Benjamin Symms donated a freehold of two hundred acres on the Pocosin River, in Elizabeth City county, for the support of a free school for the education of children in the parishes of Elizabeth and Kicquotan.

A few years later, for the same purpose, Thomas Eaton left an estate in the same county. The high school at Hampton, Va., is to-day called the Symms-Eaton School, in honor of these founders of the first free school in Virginia.

At the time of Bacon's Rebellion it is recorded that one Henry Peasley left six hundred acres in Gloucester county for the maintenance of a school for the children of Abingdon and Ware parishes. This school was established and became known as the "Peasley School," and continued its work for eighty years without interruption.

In 1660 the House of Burgesses took steps towards the establishment of a college, but the matter was delayed until

finally, through the efforts of the clergy and burgesses, under the direction of Commissary James Blair, the College of William and Mary was established in 1693. This charter was granted by the sovereigns of England, William and Mary, and the college was named after them. It is the oldest institution of learning south of the Potomac River, and next to Harvard in age in the United States.

The revenues provided for the college were one penny per pound on the tobacco exported from Virginia to any English plantation in America. The King granted, out of quit rents, £2,000 toward the building, and one cent per pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia.

The story goes that the charter would never have been secured but for the King, as the board of trade and the English officials were against it. Mr. Blair is said to have gone to the English Attorney-General, Seymour, with a command from the King that a charter be prepared, but the Attorney-General asked Mr. Blair "what was the use of such an institution?" The commissary replied "that they needed it for the preparation of young men entering the ministry," and begged Mr. Seymour to "remember that there were souls in Virginia to be saved as well as in England." "Souls!" said Attorney Seymour, "damn your souls—you make tobacco." This indicated clearly the spirit of many of the people in England. By many Virginia was regarded only as a possession of England, to be used to enrich its merchant class. This spirit, manifested from the beginning, was the spirit shown by Sir William Berkeley, and it produced Bacon's Rebellion, and it was the same spirit that alienated all the colonies from the mother country.

From the time of its establishment until the Revolutionary War, William and Mary College was the richest institution in America, and had a better course of instruction than

William and Mary College.

The Second Oldest College in America.

Harvard, Yale, Nassau Hall (now Princeton University), King's College (now Columbia University), University of Pennsylvania, Brown or Dartmouth.

In connection with these statements about William and Mary, and in most grateful appreciation of his charming contribution to Virginia's history, we venture to quote in full from Mr. Fiske's "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors":

"It was the first college in America to introduce teaching by lectures and the elective system of study. It was the first to unite a group of faculties into a university. It was the second in the English world to have a chair of municipal law, George Wythe coming to such a professorship a few years after Sir William Blackstone. It was the first in America to establish a chair of history and political science, and it was one of the first to pursue a thoroughly secular and unsectarian policy, though, until lately, its number of students at any one time had never reached one hundred and fifty It has given to our country fifteen Senators and seventy Representatives in Congress; seventeen Governors of States, and thirty-seven judges; three Presidents of the United States—Jefferson, Monroe and Tyler—and the great Chief Justice Marshall."

To these distinguished graduates there might be added many other names. Indeed, the college educated most of the men who led Virginia in the times preceding and immediately following the Revolutionary War. Quite a few of the sons of richer Virginians went to Oxford and Cambridge, the alma maters of their fathers. William Byrd, 2d, was, for example, an Oxford man, and so were Richard H. Lee and Thomas Nelson. Such, however, was the excellence of the instruction and training given at William and Mary that it was soon discovered it was not at all necessary to send the sons of the colony across the water in order that they might receive ade-

quate educational girding and equipment. It is worthy of note that the Phi Beta Kappa Society was organized at this college in 1776.

It is interesting to remember that at William and Mary provision was made for the education of the Indians. The founders were trying to carry out the policy which the London Company had tried seventy-five years before. It is related that the Queen of Pamunkey sent her boy to the college with a valet, and that there were two other sons of Indian chiefs. It is not a matter of record as to how long these representatives of the aborigines of Virginia remained within the classic walls of William and Mary. It is easy to imagine, however, that it was not long before they began to sigh for the chase and to long for the freedom of the wild life to which they had been used, and that they found it impossible to hold themselves long in subjection to the limitations and restrictions incident to academic life.

It is very amusing to observe the very serious and praiseworthy efforts of these Englishmen on behalf of the education of the Indians. It seemed to be imagined on their part a facile matter to lasso these Indian youths and make the school and home life pleasant for them with the mere furnishing of academic advantages. It proved, however, to be a case not only where it was difficult to catch the hare, but harder still to skin him after he was caught.

The first commencement of the college, which was held in 1700, was an incident of widespread interest throughout the colonies of the country. It is said that not only a large number of the Virginians themselves were present, but the Indians also came in gala array, and that representatives came even from Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York.

With the close of the Revolution the parish schools were abolished when church and state were separated, but in a

short while there came into existence what was known as the "charity" school. Sales of property belonging to the parishes were in some instances used for the establishment of these schools, which were used for the educating of poor children. In addition, citizens employed teachers and established private and select schools. In 1796 a law was passed authorizing the appointment of school commissioners, to be known as the "aldermen of the county." Their duty was to divide the county up into districts in which schools should be established. Teachers were to be paid at public cost, and all children were to have three schooling years free. Here was the origin of the public school system of Virginia as a district matter. To each locality was assigned the right and duty of maintaining schools, and to a certain extent this is true even to this day. The provisions of the act of 1796 became operative in a number of the counties.

In 1809 was created a literary fund which provided that all escheats, confiscations and forfeitures of the Commonwealth should become the property of this fund, and that all military fines should also be used by this same fund for the education of the poor. This fund has grown greatly in size, and is to-day a source of great revenue to the public school system, amounting to more than one million and a half dollars.

In the various counties of Virginia were appointed school commissioners, and from 1810 to the time of the Civil War, all the poor children of Virginia had the privilege of going to school, provided they made application to the school commission. Teaching was done chiefly in the "old field" schools, as they were termed. Teachers in these schools were often classical scholars, and those persons who could afford to pay for the tuition of their children were required to do so. Statistics relating to the work of this system are difficult

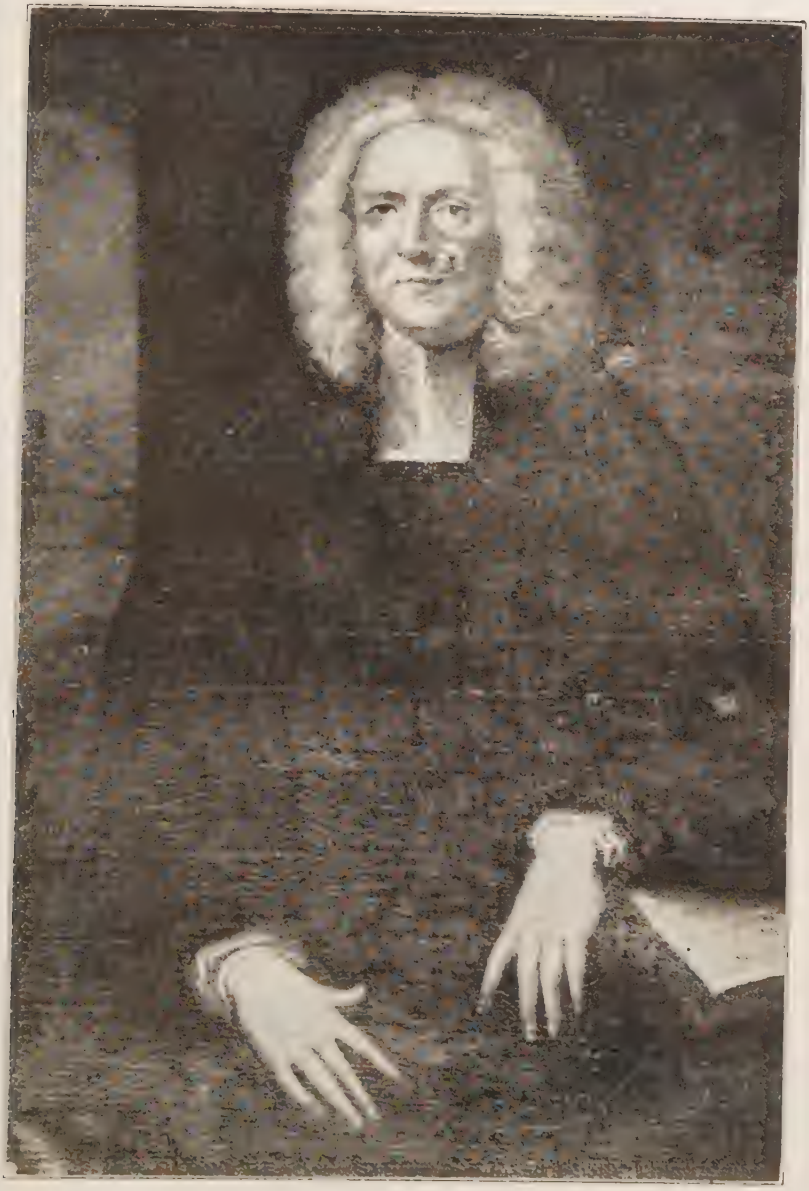
to secure, but in Martin and Brockenborough's "Gazetteer" of 1833 we are told that there were 2,833 schools in which the State was interested, and that there were in the hundred counties 32,804 poor children, of which number 17,087 were in school at the expense of $42,996.27. The State also paid for the text-books for these poor children.

At the close of the Civil War a free public school system was provided for, and now in every city and county are a number of schools free to all, maintained with State aid by the city, county or district, as the case may be.

We are not to conclude, therefore, that Virginia never had a public school system until 1870. It is true that a system of schools free to all did not exist until then, but education at the expense of the State had been provided since 1796, and more fully since 1809, for those who were not in a position to pay for their own tuition.

It is an interesting fact that the percentage of illiteracy among the whites in Virginia before the war was very little more than the present percentage of illiteracy, although for the last twenty years we have been waging an active campaign in favor of education.

If this chapter on education in Virginia seems to be a trifle polemic, let it be remembered that it is concerning a matter about which there has been much unnecessary misinformation and misrepresentation on the part of those who might have known better. To quote the saying of Sir William Berkeley as given in the beginning of this chapter, without explanation or qualification, is to make the inevitable impression that there was no appreciation of education in the Virginia Colony. Precisely this many historians have been willing to do; indeed, this impression has been given so often, that one must have far more equanimity of spirit than the average Virginian is ever supposed to have, not to resent



James Blair.

Commissary William and Mary College.

an imputation for which there is so little basis of fact in a history easily to be known and understood. This utterance must not be taken as a disparagement of educational movements in other parts of colonial America. The superb educational work of our fellow-countrymen of New England has become at once the heritage and the pride of all patriotic Americans. The plain truth is that, living in such an era and being fresh from the atmosphere of Europe in the sixteenth century, it were not possible, either at Jamestown or at Plymouth, to be other than interested in education and the advance of letters. On anything like a close scrutiny it will be discovered that here, as elsewhere, the life of the colonists moved along parallel lines. This must needs be so, because there was to them both a common ancestry and, in things vital and essential, a common environment.

CHAPTER IX.

THE LABOR SYSTEM OF COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

The intelligence of the first Virginians was such as to enable them to understand that larger returns might be had from a wise use of the brain than from the employment of the hand only. Their ambitions were larger than could be satisfied with the product of their own hands. They discovered very soon that in the cultivation of tobacco there was a large place for wise superintendence. Not that the first Virginians were indisposed to labor, for they had already given proof of their willingness to perform hard labor and to endure severe toil in the building up of the colony. It was simply a question as to what methods would produce the largest results. It seemed to them that instead of cultivating tobacco in such insignificant patches as only one hand could care for, that much larger returns would come from the cultivation of such areas as would require many hands under wise direction.

The forms of labor in the Virginia Colony really distinguished it from the northern colonies. This form of service grew out of the necessities of the case. In the cultivation of tobacco a cheap form of labor was required, and the rapidity with which the cultivation of tobacco spread, made an unusually hasty and urgent demand on the labor market. It was necessary, if the supply of tobacco should keep pace with the rapidly increasing demand for it, that large areas of land should be brought under cultivation, and to do this much new land had to be cleared and many hands had to be there-

fore employed. This condition will explain the rapid development and establishment of the form of labor employed in the Virginia Colony. At first only white labor was employed, with here and there an Indian who had been indentured by his parents. It was not until 1619 that there was even a beginning in the employment of negro labor. The increase of this class was very slow for many years.

The system of labor known as the "indenture system" was the method employed. Under such an arrangement the laborer either sold himself or was sold to a master under such agreements as were mutually acceptable, and under such conditions as were clearly understood.

Of the white labor there were two sorts, voluntary and involuntary. There was a class of laborers who entered of their own accord into this arrangement of indenture. They were people who were anxious to come to Virginia but who were unable to bear the expense of coming, and who were unable to adequately equip themselves for any productive work in the colony. So in order to be in a position to come to the colony, they selected for a term of years to become the servants of some masters with whom a satisfactory contract could be made. Many of these were thoroughly good people, and after the term of indenture expired took an honorable and useful place in the community, none the less respected and esteemed because of their term of indenture.

The involuntary class was composed of people who, for one reason or another, were forced into service against their wishes. There were those who were kidnapped by agents or masters of vessels and brought to the colony. These were usually taken from the streets of the larger cities, more especially from London and Bristol. The larger part of the kidnapped class were boys and girls who had not arrived at the age of maturity. It is easy to see that there might be very great extremes in the character of these people. Children of

the better stock might easily have been kidnapped as well as those of the worse kind. At any rate, it is known that from this class there came to prominence and usefulness some worthy persons.

Among the involuntary class can also be placed the criminals who were exported from England to the colony. These themselves are to be sub-divided into two plainly distinct classes. There was one class of the flagrantly criminal coming from the lowest conditions of society. These had been guilty of every possible crime, and were exported to the colonies to be sold into slavery, thus ridding the old country of a bad class of people and saving expenses incident to the enforcement of penalties. Although there was an exceedingly great necessity for labor, it was early discovered that such additions to the colony were of no real advantage, but rather introduced an element of danger that had been succesfully avoided up to this time.

Of the class of criminals there were many whose offenses had been comparatively light, the penalty for their wrongdoing being all out of proportion in severity to the crime committed. For instance, for a woman to steal a piece of meat for her hungry children, was, according to the law of England, guilty of a capital offense, and the penalty was death. This extreme penalty was very common even for such slight offenses, and presented an inexpensive and quick way of ridding the community of violators of the law. But among the judges and magistrates there was a sense of justice that made them very willing to substitute the penalty of exportation for those who were not hardened criminals. Very many who came to Virginia as criminals were really criminals in no serious sense of the term. They had been violators of the law in a way which in our day would be considered a very small offense, and the penalty of which would be a small fine or a few days' imprisonment. Many of these having been given a new chance

under favorable conditions, vindicated themselves of the badge of crime under which they had come to the colonies.

Still another class of those who entered unwillingly into service consisted of political offenders and prisoners of war. Of the political offenders there were never very many. After the restoration of the monarchy not a few dissenters were exported to the colonies, and were indentured for a term of service. Many of these were substantial people, and afterwards occupied places in society befitting their character and capacity.

Of the prisoners of war there were quite a large number sent over from time to time. In 1651, after the battle of Worcester, there were sent into Virginia 1,610 soldiers. Two years later 100 Irish prisoners of war were sent over. In 1685 a number of the followers of Monmouth came over.

The contracts entered into between the servant and his master were very simple, usually indicating the term of years for which the indenture was to last, the services required and the compensation given. If anything else was thought to be desirable in the way of protection to either party, it was incorporated in the contract upon a mutual understanding.

A form of the indenture contract is submitted. It is a form preserved by Mr. Neil in his "Virginia Carolorum," and is taken as being typical of those generally in use at that time. A farmer of Surrey county, England, contracts and binds himself to a citizen, an ironmonger in London, as follows:

"To continue an obedient servant of him, the said Edward Hurd, and his heirs and assigns, and so by him or them sente, transported unto the colony and land of Virginia, in the parts beyond the seas, to be by him or them imployed on his plantation there for the space of four years, and will be tractable and obedient and good and faithful, onyst to be in such things as shall be commanded him. In consideration

thereof the said Edward Hurd doth covenant that he will transport and furnish to the said Logwood, to and for Virginia aforesaid, and allow unto him sustenance, meat, drink, and apparel and other necessities for his livelihood and sustenance during the said services."

The phase of the indenture system that gave most trouble, and about which there was most legislation on the part of the General Assembly, was the term of years for which the indenture was to last. At first, in the absence of any stipulated time in the contract, the rule was that the indenture should last for a period of four years. If the age of a servant was in excess of twenty-one years, the term of indenture was four years; if under that age, five years; and seven years if under the age of twelve. This rule was changed in 1654, especially as far as aliens were concerned. When these came into the colony without formal indenture they were required, if more than sixteen years old, to serve for a term of six years; if under that age, he was to serve until he was twenty-four years of age. This seems to have been unfavorable to the increase of emigration, and the rule was somewhat modified later.

The construction of the contracts of indenture were usually made with careful regard to the rights of the servant, and the authorities were scrupulous usually in seeing that the parts of the agreement having to do with the personal care and treatment of the servant were fully and satisfactorily carried out; and while there may have been some isolated cases of serious imposition on the part of the master, in the main the agreements entered into were honorably observed. Indeed, so great was the demand for labor of this sort that it behooved the masters, on grounds of sheer expediency, to maintain in all particulars the agreements entered into. Ordinarily, the servants were well fed, securely housed and com-

fortably clothed. A comparison made between this class of laborers in the colonies and even the better class of laborers in the old country would, in things most essential, be greatly to the advantage of the Virginia servants.

Next to the matter of the term of service, trouble was had with the younger indentured servants in their disposition to run away. While very heavy penalties were inflicted upon these runaways and upon those harboring them, the authorities were always careful to inquire whether there was any reason for dissatisfaction with the treatment they received at the hands of their masters. There is in the records of lower Norfolk county an account of an incident in which a boy had frequently run away from his mistress and sought refuge with a good woman in the neighborhood. A complaint was made in his behalf, and the magistrate directed that he should remain in the house unto which he had fled until his case was looked into; and their final verdict was that he should remain there until his mistress should give her consent to provide him with food, clothing and other necessities which the evidence showed she had denied him. A committee was appointed to see that this verdict of the court was carried out, and when it was ascertained that she continued in her harsh treatment of the boy, he was taken away entirely from her possession.

The usual penalty for running away was to double the time of service agreed upon in the contract of indenture, and also to pay the amount expended in the capture and return of the runaway. In addition to this it was sometimes allowed that the runaway be whipped. There were numerous laws made by the Assembly with reference to runaway servants. Considering the character of many of the indentured servants it is remarkable that there were no serious outbreaks among them.

Another source of serious trouble with the indentured servants was the matter of marriage, especially secret marriage. It became necessary to pass an act that before any legal ceremony might be performed both parties to the marriage contract should present the written consent of their respective masters. This law was made necessary on account of the confusion that inevitably followed the marrying where there were different masters involved. The penalty attached to the violation of this law was the extension of the term of the husband's service for twelve months, while the term of extension of the wife's service was to be twice the time set forth in the original contract. The clergymen were strictly prohibited from announcing the bans of this class of people or from joining them in marriage without first having received the signed certificates indicating the consent of their masters.

All the evidence seems to indicate that usually the kindest relations existed between the master and servant. At the close of the seventeenth century the sentiment in the colony was always kindly disposed toward the servants in every matter of difference and discontent. No master was permitted to whip a white servant on the naked back until special permission had been granted by the court, and if he insisted upon doing so without the magistrate's authority, he was fined twenty shillings. The justices of the peace were by law compelled to receive all complaints of servants touching the matters of food, clothing and lodging, and medical services in case of sickness. If there was any suspicion that the justices themselves were disposed to be partial to the land owners rather than to the servant, it was permitted the servant to file a petition in the County Court immediately, not waiting for the delay of a formal process of action.

There was also careful provision made for the improve-

ment of the religious and moral lives of the servants. By a provision in the laws of the colony the masters were responsible for their instruction in the catechism, and were compelled to send them to the nearest church before the evening service to be taught by the minister of the parish the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed.

As a rule a white woman did not labor in the fields, but her services were confined to doing domestic functions. Only when she was thoroughly disreputable was she required to perform labor in the fields.

The hours of service for indentured servants were from sunrise to sunset, but with intermissions at the noon hour for dinner, and a longer intermission of four or five hours when the sun became oppressive, especially in the new grounds that were being cleared. The scarcity of labor always made it expedient for the masters to give the servants such kindly and wholesome care and treatment as would preserve their strength and enable them to do the best possible work.

When the term for which the servant had been indentured expired, there were certain privileges allowed him, which, if taken advantage of, established him most auspiciously for a new career. Under the first regulation of the London Company at the expiration of a term of service there was given to each one hundred acres of land, and when this was occupied each was entitled to another one hundred acres. Those who were bound for a term of years came to their freedom under circumstances even more propitious and promising. They were allowed corn for twelve months and a house in which to live, and were presented with clothing and a cow. They could have all the land that they were able to cultivate, and were furnished with all the implements necessary in their work. All this was allowed for a term of seven years. Dur-

ing that time one-half of all the increase from his crops and from the cattle was allowed each servant, and a tract of twenty-five acres at an insignificant rent of two pence per annum.

The question has often been agitated as to what extent the complexion of these early communities was fixed by the presence of so large a class of servants. The facts seem to be that while there were, not a few honorable exceptions, that this class of people failed to rise to any influential place in the community. The more thrifty of them found for themselves small farms where they led quiet and useful lives. Most of them, however, by an inevitable law of social gravitation, occupied a lower place in the society of the day. Bishop Meade may be quoted as saying this with reference to the descendants of this class of people:

"The lower order of persons in Virginia, in a great measure, sprang from those apprenticed servants and from poor exiled culprits. It is not wonderful that there should have been much debasement of character among the poorest population, and that the negroes of the first families should always have considered themselves to be a more respectable class. To this day there are many who look upon poor white folks (for so they call them) as much beneath themselves, and in truth they are so in many respects."

The agitation of the question as to the descent of some of the old families of Virginia from the class of indentured servants is scarcely worth seriously considering. We quote from a New England historian, Mr. Fiske, who could not possibly rest under suspicion of partiality when he said:

"Nothing can be more certain than that the representative families of Virginia were not descended from convicts or from indentured servants of any sort. The registered facts abundantly prove that the leading families had precisely the

same sort of origin as the leading families in New England. For the most part they were either country squires, yeoman or craftsmen from the numerous urban guilds, and alike in Virginia and in New England there was the same proportion of persons connected with English families, ennobled or otherwise eminent for public service."

There were two features of the indenture system that caused it to fall into disfavor with the planters. First, the character of the laborers was a very serious drawback and menace to the peace of the community, and long before the end of the seventeenth century both Virginia and Maryland began to protest against the policy of dumping the criminal class upon their shores. It was realized that if the demands for labor were ever satisfied by reinforcements from this class of men that their number would be so great as to seriously threaten the colony.

The second source of dissatisfaction was lodged in the frequent expirations of the terms of indenture service. It was a matter of constant and anxious solicitude on the planters' part as to how they were to supply the places of those whose term of service was about to expire. Many of those whose terms had expired, would, to be sure, remain as tenants and continue in the service of the planters, but a sufficient number sought to establish themselves upon places of their own, to make it difficult to have their places supplied. It was almost impossible for any stability to be maintained in the service of the colony under such a system.

These two considerations contributed greatly to the establishment of African slavery. As a usual thing the African was docile and could be controlled without any very great difficulty. For the sort of work required in the cultivation of tobacco, they were especially adapted. Already the cultivation of tobacco in Spain had made demonstration of this

fact, and as Spain was the competitor of Virginia in the production and sale of tobacco, the Virginia planter began to realize that unless a more stable and reliable form of service could be introduced, that they would be at a very serious disadvantage in the competition for the trade in tobacco. Thus it came to be, in the course of years, the conviction of the Virginia planter that if the cultivation of tobacco was to continue, and to be enlarged as the demand for it increased, a more docile and a more stable form of service must be employed.

1619 marks the date of the bringing of the negro to the American continent. By John Rolfe it was recorded that "about the last of August there came in a Dutch man-of-war that sold us twenty negars." It seems that this first cargo of slaves was brought to the colony without any premeditation or concert of action on the part of anyone. It was a venture of the master of the Dutch vessel, possibly at the suggestion of Argall, with whose privateering ship, The Treasure, he had been thrown for a little while cruising off the Spanish coast. There were twenty of these first slaves. They were distributed among the various settlements, the most of them, it is said, being held by Governor Yeardley on the company's lands. In the five years following 1619 there was an increase of only two in the number of African slaves in the colony. The census of the population taken in 1624-'25 showed the presence of twenty-two, as compared with the twenty that had been introduced into the colony five years before. One of these two additional slaves was brought in by The Treasure in 1619, and the other had come in a vessel called The Swan in 1623. Two children were included in this census. Their ages are not recorded, and it is impossible to say whether they were born in America or whether they were included in the original twenty brought in 1619. In the fearful massacre

of 1622 none of the negroes were killed. This in all probability is to be attributed to the manner of their distribution in the colony. It will be remembered that Jamestown escaped this massacre, while the upper settlements, especially the "Fleur De Hundred" suffered most grievously. Many of the negroes still remained at Jamestown, and probably their exemption from the slaughter grows out of that fact. Five years after the census of 1624-'25, an addition to the African slave population was made by the ship Fortune. The entire cargo was sold for eighty-five hogsheads of tobacco. These slaves were distributed immediately and with very little trouble.

For the first half of the seventeenth century all the slaves introduced into the colony were brought in this desultory fashion. There was no organized or systematic effort in that direction; only occasionally, without any advanced agreement or contract, one ship after another would drop in and dispose of its cargo, which, in most instances, it had captured while on privateering voyages.

The first exclusive right to conduct the slave traffic was granted by the English Government in 1618 to the Earl of Warwick and those associated with him. In 1631 another charter was granted by Charles I. to an organization that made systematic and elaborate preparations for traffic in negroes along the Guinea coast. As far as Virginia was concerned, the number of slaves brought in by this company was very small. For a space of eighteen years after this charter had been secured by this company, the number of slaves in the colony, all told, was not over three hundred. Thirty years had now passed since the first slaves were landed in 1619, so that in all probability a good proportion of these three hundred may be attributed to the natural increase of the population. Quite a number, however, had been introduced by plant-

ers or ship owners, who availed themselves of the principle of the head right. The records show that Mr. Richard Bennet was the first to avail himself of this head right law, and took out a patent in the office of the Registrar at Richmond for fifty acres to be allowed him for the importation of the slave "Angela," landed by the ship Fortune. From this beginning, for every slave imported into the colony their owners sought the privilege and reward of the head right. In many instances the patents of land thus granted ran into the thousands and tens of thousands of acres.

It will be seen from this slow importation of negroes that the institution of slavery in the colony up to the last of the seventeenth century was, on the whole, rather insignficant. Even in 1663, forty-four years or nearly a half a century after the importation of the first slaves, there were only about 1,500 negroes in the colony, and it was 1670 before it had risen to the number of 2,000.

In 1672 another charter was granted to the Royal African Company, that was destined to become the agency for the transporting of a large number of slaves to America. It was some years, however, before the population was perceptibly increased. The period of discontent, from 1670 to 1680, which was characterized by the rebellion under Bacon, was discouraging to the importation of the slave.

At the end of the seventeenth century it is estimated that the entire African population in the colony amounted to only about six thousand. When one considers the fact that many of these must have been by natural increase, it will be easily seen that the importation of negroes from Africa was exceedingly slow, and that they came in squads and groups, at no time in any large numbers. At first they were brought to the colony in vessels sailing under the Dutch flag. Later on New England merchants became interested in the slave traffic, and

perhaps in the vessels manned by New Englanders the larger number of African slaves were introduced into the colonies.

After the beginning of the eighteenth century the importation of slaves was greatly accelerated. They were distributed as the peculiar conditions of each colony demanded, the conditions of life in the more northern colonies being such as not to require this particular form of service. Many Africans were imported and employed, and by the time of the Revolution there were negro slaves in all the American colonies. In the southern colonies the number of slaves in some instances equalled the entire white population. In Virginia the census indicated that the population was about equally divided, being something like 250,000 white population and 250,000 negro slave population.

There is no indication that during all this term of years anybody's conscience was especially disturbed. The northern and New England colonies were altogether as innocent of qualms of conscience as were the southern colonies. The truth is that the Africans were looked upon as so much chattel, to be sold and bought, fed and clothed, taxed and kept as other cattle and beasts were. When the question of the religious standing of the African was raised, the answer came from many quarters that really they were not morally responsible beings; that they were either merely animal, or so little removed from that estate as to have no responsibility and no capacity in moral and spiritual things. A certain elect lady of the Barbadoes, herself said to be very pious and saintly, is reported by Mr. Godwyn to have said "that he might as well baptize puppies as negroes." This ought not to be taken as an expression of the sentiment prevailing in Virginia. The views of the slave owners in the West Indies were less advanced and less humane than they were in Virginia. Even in Virginia, however, it was not clear as to just

how far the negro was capable of religion, and, therefore, to what extent they should be accorded religious privileges and to what extent it was necessary to be exercised over the matter of his salvation. The question was somewhat complicated by the notion that to make a Christian of him was to compel that he be treated as one Christian should treat another. This particular perplexity was settled by an act of the House of Burgesses, which declared that submission to the rites of the church did not emancipate the slave. The following action was taken by the House of Burgesses in 1667:

"Whereas, Some doubts have risen whether children who are slaves by birth, and by the charity and piety of their owners, made partakers of the blessed sacrament of baptism, should, by virtue of their baptism be made free: It is enacted and declared by this Grand Assembly and the authorities thereof, that the conferring of baptism doth not alter the condition of the person as to his bondage or freedom; that divers masters freed from this doubt may more carefully endeavor the propagation of Christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable, to be admitted by that sacrament."

It is a fact to which Mr. Bruce calls attention, that one of the two African children included in the census of 1624-'25 was entered in the general list as having received baptism, and this incident was transacted fifty years before the treatise of Mr. Godwyn.

In the year 1661 there was sent out from the Council for Foreign Plantations a communication to the authorities in the colonies of Virginia and the Barbadoes, asking that ministers of the gospel who would give themselves especially to the work of evangelizing the negro, should be brought into the colonies as soon as possible, and that these ministers be

enjoined to give themselves assiduously to the preparation of the African for the rites of baptism.

As time wore on and the two peoples were brought into more intimate relations, skepticism yielded to an almost unanimous conviction that, after all, the Africans were human; laboring, to be sure, under some serious disabilities. The theological consensus was, that the negro was salvable; and as much consideration was had for his religious life as circumstances in those days would seem to allow. Certain it is that in an incredibly short time the negro became evangelized almost en masse. In the light of after events the institution of slavery must be considered as the mightiest evangelical agency that has ever been employed in the effort to convert the world to Christianity. Though we do not suppose that the pious Dutchman and the saintly Puritans of New England who brought them to these shores, or the godly Cavaliers of Virginia who bought them and kept them, will arrogate to themselves credit for so glorious a consummation; seeing that the evangelical motive was exceedingly remote in these early transactions connected with the institution of slavery.

It ought to be remembered that while not very vociferous or insistent, here and there were voices even in the South lifted against the continuation and perpetuation of the institution. Such men as Mr. Mason uttered sentiments so harsh and extravagant as almost to discount the boldest utterances of the most rantankerous New England abolitionist. It is worth while remembering that the sentiment entertained by Mr. Jefferson and the governmental principles touching this matter submitted by him were very nearly in accord with the sentiments and principles of government entertained by Abraham Lincoln, and upon which he was elevated to the Presidency of these United States.

This much may be truly said, that the nearest approach to

unanimity of opinion with regard to the institution of slavery that ever has prevailed in this country was in the first century of its existence; and that that opinion was favorable to its establishment and perpetuation.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

After the London Company had secured its second charter in 1609, there were introduced a great many new stockholders; among them the Archbishop of Canterbury, six bishops, twenty-four earls, twenty-eight lords, two hundred and seventy-four knights of the shire, and many gentlemen and merchants, making number of stockholders for 1609 to 1619 reach a total of 1,375. While these gentlemen added very much to the social standing of the company, they did not add extensively to its financial betterment and equipment. The company had already expended something like eleven million dollars on the enterprise, and had had no returns whatever for this vast outlay. In spite of the expenditure of such a large sum of money, and the endurance of much suffering and hardship and the loss of hundreds of lives, there were, in 1612, scarcely more than four hundred settlers in the colony proper, although when Dale first came over there had been a much larger population, due to the many adventurers who came at about the same time. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that it was exceedingly difficult to procure financial support for the maintenance of the colony. In the emergency a lottery was resorted to, making thus a popular appeal to all classes of people. Whether this doubtful measure was a financial success or not, it was at least a fine advertisement of the en-

terprise, and to the expedient no objection was raised. In fact, it seems to have been accepted as a perfectly legitimate and proper financial policy.

If the gentlemen constituting the last large addition to the stockholders of the company were not responsive to appeals for money, they were in the main broadminded and patriotic, and yielded themselves to persuasions as to a more liberal policy in the government of the colony. It is not definitely known why George Yeardley was asked in 1617 to surrender to Samuel Argall the government of the colony after so short a term as one year's service, but there is reason to believe that it was for the good of the colony itself that he returned to England just at the time he did. He was in a position to state or to present the real needs of the settlements. There can be no doubt but that his presentation of the matter largely influenced the company in its new policy. He found, on his return, the company already prepared for such suggestions and counsels as he was most competent to give.

The company had already determined to grant to every settler fifty acres of land as his own private property. Thus the communistic system, which had involved the earlier policies of the colony, was broken down. Later on, with increasing libertlity, the allotment of land was increased from fifty acres to one hundred acres, offered to all new settlers. For this advanced step, be it remembered, the wise and vigorous management of Governor Dale was preparatory.

It was while on this visit Yeardley was knighted by the King. It was an unusual honor for one of so humble birth, for he was only a son of a merchant tailor. It was, no doubt, bestowed upon him as a token of the King's favor, but the notion that one in the high office to which he had been elected would be lacking in equipment if he did not wear

some such title, must have had considerable influence in procuring the honor. The spirit of the day was such that it would have been difficult for him to have secured to himself the measure of esteem and respect required by his office if he had not been thus honored and elevated by the royal favor.

It was on the recall of Argall, whose shameless management of the colony had become a scandal even in England, that Yeardley was appointed Governor as his successor. He was sent out under a commission giving him large freedom and powers for the inauguration of a liberal administration. Spread of the good news in England that Virginia was henceforth to be governed on broad principles caused settlers to flock to the colony, and in a little while the population had grown to be about two thousand.

The most surprising and far reaching in their influence of the instructions that Yeardley carried back with him to Virginia was the granting of the right to establish in the colony such government as would be best for the inhabitants. Yeardley had not been long in the colony after his return before he announced that he, on the authority of the London Company, had decided to establish a General Assembly in which the representatives of the colony would hereafter frame the laws that should govern the colony. This Assembly was to be composed of the Governor, his council, and two representatives from each of the scattered plantations. There were eleven of these plantations, and two representaives from each would make an Assembly of twenty-two representatives coming directly from the people. The plantations at the time of the organization of the Assembly were as follows: James City, Charles City, City of Henricos, Kiccowtan, Brandon, Martin's Plantation, Smyth's Hundred, Martin's Hundred, Argall's Gift, Flower de Hundred, Captain Lawne's Plantation and Captain Ward's Plantation.

Following the announcement of Governor Yeardley the election of representatives from the different plantations duly occurred. On the 30th day of July, 1619, the Assembly met at Jamestown. It was composed of the following members:

Governor Yeardley was present as the head of the colony. It is interesting to note that he was the first cousin of the step-father of John Harvard, the founder of Harvard University. It is said that his religious views were not widely different from those entertained by the Puritans of New England. The members of the council, by virtue of their office, were also members of this General Assembly. Of these was Captain Francis West, a son of Sir Thomas West, and second Lord Delaware. He was president of the council and had command of the fort at the falls on the James River, and had planted a plantation at West Hundred, known afterward as Westover. He is said to have been a direct descendant of William the Conqueror. He had agreed with Clayborne in his opposition to the settlement of Maryland by Lord Baltimore. Captain Nathaniel Powell, also a member of the council, was one of the party that explored the Chesapeake Bay with John Smith. He and his wife were both killed in the Indian massacre of 1622. John Rolfe, a member of the council, the husband of Pocahontas, and the first promoter of the cultivation of tobacco. He had recently returned to Virginia, after the death of his young wife at Gravesend, England. The Rev. William Wickham, a member of the council, sat in the Assembly. It is said of him that he was a man of wide culture and liberal views. Captain Samuel Maycock, likewise a member of the council, was a graduate of Cambridge University, and stood high in the esteem of his contemporaries. John Pory, the sixth member of the council, was secretary of the colony, and was also a graduate of Cambridge. He was an especial friend of Hak-

luyt's, and had at one time sat in the English Parliament. He had done some exploring, and had gone up the Nile as far as an inland lake in Abyssinia. The only copy of the proceedings of this first General Assembly of America is preserved in the British Record office, and is in the handwriting of John Pory.

The representatives from the plantations were as follows: James City sent Captain William Powell and Ensign William Spence. It was to Captain Powell that a friendly Indian revealed the plot of 1622, and he was afterwards active in the pursuit and slaughter of the Indians. He was finally killed by the Indians on the Chickahominy River in 1623.

Charles City sent Samuel Sharp and Samuel Jordan Jordan died in 1623, and left a widow whose name was Cicely. Mr. Jordan had not been dead many weeks before the charming Cicely began to take notice in a very surprising manner and allowed herself, doubtless owing to the confusion caused by her great grief for her departed husband, to become engaged to two gentlemen at the same time—the Rev. Grenville Pooley and Mr. William Ferrar. Each insisting upon the right of her hand, and she apparently unwilling to arbitrate between the two, the case was taken before the council, which, refusing to designate the favored gentleman, with consummate discretion, the affair was referred to the company in London. Which of the insistent gentlemen finally succeeded to the place of the lamented Jordan in the widow's heart and home, by some strange oversight, history does not seem to record. One of the two representatives from Flower de Hundred was Mr. Jefferson, with whom Thomas Jefferson claimed relationship. One of the delegates from Smyth's Hundred, Walter Shelley, probably a relative of the poet, died suddenly on Sunday, August 1st, in the midst of the Assembly.

On the day appointed for the meeting of the Assembly the Governor went in state to the church selected as the place of meeting with a guard of halberdiers dressed in the Governor's livery. He was attended by the councillors and followed by the twenty-two newly elected delegates.

The first meeting place of the Assembly was in the third of the church buildings that had been erected in the colony during the administration of Captain Samuel Argall. It is interesting to note here that from 1619 to 1698, the years during which the Assembly met at Jamestown, there were four different State houses in which the meetings of the body were held. Each of these was destroyed in turn by fire. In the interim between these disasters the body met in various and sundry places, sometimes in the church, sometimes in convenient taverns, and sometimes in the Governor's house.

The church building occupied by the first General Assembly is said to have been well lighted within, and well adapted to uses of the Assembly, and, upon the order of the Governor, was made passing sweet and trimmed with divers flowers. The meeting is described as follows by the Speaker in his report to the London Company:

"The moste convenient place we could find to sitt in was the Quire of the Church where Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, sett downe in his accustomed place, those of the Council of estate sate next him on both handes, except only the Secretary, then appointed Speaker, who sate right before him, John Twine, clerke of the General Assembly, being placed next the Speaker, and Thomas Pierse, the Sergeant, standing at the barre, to be ready for any service the Assembly should commaand him. But for as much as men's affaires doe little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses tooke their places in the Quire until a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the Minister, that it shall please God to guide and

The Old Church Tower, Jamestown Island.

Built Between 1676 and 1684.

sanctifie all our proceedings to His own glory and to the good of this plantation. Prayer being ended, to the intente that as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with awful and due respecte toward the Lieutenant, our most gratious and dreaded Soveraigne, all the Burgesses were intreated to retyre themselves into the body of the Churche, which being done, before they were fully admitted, they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) tooke the Oathe of Supremacy."

Mr. Bucke, the minister who conducted the religious devotions of this first Assembly, was the minister in charge at Jamestown, and for whose special use the building in which the Assembly met had been erected. He was reputed to be a man of good culture and fine character.

For a long time the proceedings of this first Assembly were lost, and it is a matter of pride to Americans that it was Mr. Bancroft who discovered them in the British Record Office in London, in the form of a synopsis of the proceedings that had been reported to the London Company by John Pory. The manuscript contains thirty-two folio pages, and was reprinted in the Senate Documents of Virginia by the Legislature of 1874, and is now a volume very rare.

According to Pory's account the first formal action of the Assembly after it organized was the reading of instructions under which Governor Yeardley was acting. Next came a number of petitions that were to be sent to the General Council of the Company in London. One of these petitions demanded that the patent to Captain Martin be withdrawn because contrary to all usages so far as Virginia was concerned (he had been made lord of his manor), the petition insisting that no man should be allowed rights which suspended for him the operation of Virginia laws. The insistence was equality of all men before the law and the suprem-

acy of the laws of the colony. For this reason the Burgesses sitting as the representatives of Captain Martin's patent were denied the right to participate in the acts of the Assembly. Another petition to the London Company asked that the lands already granted by patent should not be taken from the settlers in the allotment of land to the Governor. They petitioned further that the company should send tenants at once for the glebe lands. They also petitioned that all inhabitants of Virginia should be put upon an equal footing with reference to the granting of lands, providing that a single share be granted to the male children born in Virginia, and also to their wives, because that "in a new plantation it is not known whether man or woman be the most necessary." They asked that a treasurer, resident in Virginia, be appointed to collect the rents of the London Company, and finally they petitioned that "toward the erection of a university or college, they should send, when they think most convenient, workmen of all sorts fit for that purpose." For some reason there was evident dissatisfaction with the savage name of "Kiccowtan," and they petitioned for a change of the name. The place was afterwards called Hampton. Whether by the direction of the authorities or no, the name still remains and is held until this day.

A study of the legislative acts of this first Assembly will reveal the fact that the first lawmakers of our country took themselves very seriously. They legislated along many lines and in much detail. They assumed the care of nearly every phase of colonial life, religious, civic, social and domestic, and even ventured into the private life of the individual. It should be remembered, however, that these early lawmakers were dealing with crude and primitive conditions, and that they were legislating not for the twentieth century, under an advanced civilization, but for the seventeenth century, under

exceptional conditions. They were making laws for themselves, living under conditions very different from their brothers in England. And yet in all their legislation there appears an absolute sincerity of purpose and a moral earnestness that is most refreshing in this day of complicated and elaborate law making. If they undertook to regulate matters that seem to us to be removed from the legitimate sphere of their control, we are impressed with the fact that they were actuated with good motives and controlled by good common sense.

The practical good sense of Virginia's first lawmakers is not more in evidence anywhere than in their legislation touching intemperance. They put the onus of blame and responsibility upon the man who drank to excess. There is in this an elemental congruity that appeals to one's sense of simple and unmixed justice. It differs widely from modern temperance legislation in that it is now sought to place the responsibility everywhere except upon the man who permits himself to become debauched. They passed laws to the effect that a man found drunk, for the first offense should be reproved in private by the minister; for the second offense he was to be reproved in public; for the third offense the Governor was to take the place of the minister and administer reproof; and in case of a fourth offense, the Governor was given full authority to inflict such punishment as in his judgment the case seemed to require. In the matter of temperance they sought by wise legislation to insure the purity of liquors, enforcing heavy penalties where these stuffs were too greatly diluted or adulterated by the admixture of other ingredients. It was also sought to protect the man disposed to run up his credit at the tavern, by passing a law that in case the tavern keeper seemed to be guilty of too great encouragement in extending his credit, that under

certain conditions and after certain lapses of time his account would be worthless before the law.

The Assembly sought among its first acts to regulate the matter of wearing apparel, and in this legislation there is also an appeal to one's sense of elemental justice. It was provided that every man should be assessed to support the church according to the quality of clothes he wore. If he were unmarried, according to his own apparel; if married, according not only to those of his own, but to that of his wife's apparel as well. There seems here to be unusual common sense, as it appears in simple justice that one should be willing to contribute to the church in the same spirit of liberality with which one conducts his own private and domestic affairs.

The legislation of the New England Puritans is often cited as an example of narrowness and intolerance. Even a casual study will reveal the fact that the work of the lawmakers in both sections really did not differ very widely. There was the same interference and intolerance in religious matters; there was the same unproportionate severity in the enforcement of penalties for what in our day seem to be trivial offenses; there was the same meddling with private affairs and habits of the individual.

This first Assembly passed a law concerning swearing in the colony. One found guilty of this offense, after having been three times admonished, was fined five shillings for every offense, the fine going into the treasury of the church. All persons were required to attend divine service on Sunday, the men being required to come with their firearms. No other service except that conducted by a minister of the Church of England was tolerated, it being many years later before other forms of religious services were permitted.

The laws regarding the relation of the settlers to the Indians were in great detail, and sought to govern every phase

of contact with the aborigines. They were permitted to trade and barter with the Indians, but they could not sell them hoes, dogs, shot, powder, firearms, or other implements which might accrue to the advantage of the Indian in case of conflict. If shot, powder or firearms were sold to them, the penalty for such refraction of the law was death. No man was permitted to go into the Indian country and remain longer than seven days without a formal leave of absence from the Governor.

However, the first Assembly showed a genuine concern for the welfare of the aborigines. A law was passed looking to the education and Christianizing of the Indians, and a bonus was offered to every plantation which should seek to educate and to convert the Indian youth to the Christian religion.

Laws were passed undertaking to regulate the economics of the settlement. The time for planting corn and mulberry trees, the making of silk, the raising of hemp, the cultivation of grapes and other fruits, the control of tenants and runaway servants, the price of tobacco and its use as a current coin of the realm, were all matters of painstaking legislation.

The Assembly seemed to discharge not only legislative functions, but certain judicial ones as well. For example, they heard the complaint of Captain William Powell against one Thomas Garnet, a servant, and found him guilty of obscene and unbecoming behavior, and had him nailed by the ears to a pillory for four days, flogging him besides on each day. Captain Henry Spellman, by vote of the Assembly, was degraded from his title as captain because he had spoken to the old Indian chief, Opechancannough, in a disrespectful and unbecoming language with reference to the Governor of the colony.

Early in the acts of the Assembly could be discovered

the restless spirit that reached out aforetime for emancipation from the control of the mother country. One of the most remarkable, significant and prophetic things in the action of this Assembly was the courage with which they ventured to ask that they might have the right to pass their own laws without the interference and supervision on the part of the London Company. The first Assembly passed the following significant resolution:

"The General Assembly doth humbly beseeche saide treasurer, counsell and company, that albeit it belongeth to them only to allow or abrogate any lawes which we shall here make and that it is their right so to doe, as these lawes which we have nowe brought to light, to passe current and be of force till suche time as we may knowe, and further pleasures out of England in, for otherwise this people (who nowe at last have gotten the rains of former servitude into their own swindge) would in short time grow so insolent as that they would shake off all government and there would be no living among them. Our next humble suite is that the saide counsell and company would be pleased, so soon as they shall find it convenient, to make good their promise set them at the conclusion of their commission for establishing the counsell of a state and the General Assembly, namely, that they will give us the power to allow or disallow all their orders of courts as His Majesty hath given them power to allow or reject our lawes."

Here indeed is the ominous suggestion of that infinite struggle, the glorious consummation of which was emancipation from British rule, and the establishment of American independence.

The requests that they be granted the privilege to disallow the orders of the London Company in Virginia must have seemed exceedingly presumptuous and impertinent, and yet from this position taken at the outset, to be sure not with

any very great definiteness or clearness, the Virginians never departed. As early as 1624 they declared that the "Governor shall not lay any tax or impositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other than by the authority of the General Assembly, to be levied or employed as the said Assembly shall appoint." These are almost the precise words used five years later by the English Parliament in its petition of rights to Charles I. The same principle was re-enacted in 1631, again in 1632, again in 1642, and still again in 1645, and again in the Articles of Agreement of 1652 between commissioners representing the Commonwealth of Engalnd and Cromwell and the "Grand Assembly of the Governor, Councill and Burgesses" of Virginia, in which articles are found these words: "That Virginia shall be free from all taxes, customs and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without consent of the Grand Assembly." In passing it is worthy of note that the term "General Assembly" was used till September, 1632, after which the term "Grand Assembly" was used till 1680, when the former term was revived. It was also about this time that the General Assembly came to be composed of two distinct houses, the "Council" sitting as the upper house and the "Burgesses" as a lower house. It was the lower house, so often spoken of as the "House of Burgesses," that stood so firmly for the rights of the colonists. It was this body that gave Governor Berkeley to understand, in ways that could not be misconstrued, that no taxes whatever could be raised except by its approval. This claim Virginia never surrendered, and when the Stamp Act was passed in 1765, Patrick Henry in his famous Resolutions simply reiterated Virginia's position taken so many times before, when he declared "that the General Assembly of this colony have the sole right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony, and that

every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

From such expressions as these it is easy to see that the establishment of the first General Assembly was a vital and an important event in the history of Virginia and of America. Its establishment must be regarded as one of the results of the struggle extending through many years in England for popular rights. In the latter years of its existence the courts of the London Company came to be the arena in which were discussed with increasing boldness and frankness the divine rights of Kings. In those years there was an undisguised and persistent hatred of the Stuart King. The Liberal party in Parliament, always at deadly conflict with James I., had many representatives in the membership and control of the London Company, and when their voices were stifled in Parliament they found the courts of the London Company and the general atmosphere of the company's life most congenial and most favorable to free and frank utterance. This condition of things was the real reason why the charter was taken from the London Company, but the lines of battle had been already drawn, and while the London Company was hindered for a while in this splendid struggle for liberal principles, it had succeeded in establishing in Virginia, under new and favorable conditions, an organization that was destined to continue the struggle and ultimately to win the great battle for popular rights. The House of Burgesses fought against the autocratic rule of the Governors, as the royal representatives in the colony, as seen in its attitude towards Berkeley, Spotswood and Culpeper. The spirit of this body caused the people to drive from the colony Dunmore, the last English Governor of Virginia.

It will be worth while to remember that the beginnings of American legislation and the first declaration of the rights of colonists to govern themselves were made before there was any other English settlement on American shores. It was from the loyal Jamestown settlement that there came first the crystallization of the spirit of the eighteenth century that demanded the right of self-government to all people.

CHAPTER XI.

TOBACCO.

We may say as much as we please about John Smith and Pocahontas being the saviors of the Virginia Colony; it remains, however, a most unromantic fact that it was plain for the colony to have been maintained long enough to have taken permanent rootage on the new continent. There was made the colony possible. But for the finding of a paying Mr. John Rolfe and the noxious or fragrant Indian weed (the adjective depending upon one's personal taste) that really commercial commodity it would have been quite impossible scarcely a phase of the colonial life but that into it tobacco entered most vitally. It was the determining factor in well-nigh every departure and exigency of the life of the colony. A Virginia writer, with very good ground, as we shall later see, has declared "that a true history of tobacco would be the history of English and American liberty." This seems an easy and a broad statement. It will be found, however, on investigation, to be more nearly true than one is at first disposed to allow, for it is the economic factor that mainly determines forms of social and governmental life.

It was the value of tobacco that first drew from England to Virginia the most substantial of its early settlers. Until tobacco was found to be a commercial commodity of value, Virginia really offered no substantial inducement to sober-thinking people to come to its shores. The level-headed and thoughtful man whose chief ambition was to mend and

increase his fortune took little interest in the golden vagaries that allured the speculative and shiftless population. He was willing to pursue slower methods and to endure patient labor if his fortune might only be gradually augmented. When it was practically demonstrated that there was great profit in raising and marketing tobacco, a new interest was created in the Virginia experiment. For the first time the English yeomen were enlisted in the enterprise and were tempted to cast their lots with the Virginia colonists. Hitherto the character of the population coming to Virginia had been mainly drawn from the top and from the bottom of England's population. Those at the top came with the expectation of finding immediately large fortunes in the discovery of gold and silver. They never had any serious idea of settling permanently on the American shores. It was their purpose, to be sure, to establish a permanent colony in Virginia, but it can scarcely be claimed that many of them ever seriously cherished the idea of remaining themselves as permanent residents in Virginia. The other class scarcely knew why they came. They had no more idea than their superiors of remaining permanently in America. The same dream that actuated the leaders of the movement filtered down to the lowest class, where there was entertained the same hopes of the Eldorado. When, however, it became a fact that by the cultivation of tobacco permanent homes might be secured and possibly large fortunes be realized, from the top, the bottom and the middle classes there began to appear those who planned seriously to establish themselves permanently in the new colony. Up to this time the bulk of the settlers had no individual or personal resource at their command except in the way of labor and service. No capital was introduced into the colony except that which was held and furnished by the London Company. But when it became clear that there was a chance

for profitable investment in the cultivation of tobacco, men came from England who had accumulated, to a measure at least, small fortunes and were willing to venture them in the new experiment, and to make permanent homes in Virginia. The results of this new departure were speedily discovered in the conduct of the affairs of the colony. No longer excited by the desire of making quick fortunes in the discovery of gold or silver, the colonists addressed themselves intelligently and seriously to the ordering of all the affairs of the colony according to wise business methods.

In the economy of the colony tobacco came to be the standard of values, and its yellow leaf was recognized as the current coin of the realm. A pound of tobacco became the unit of value. The prices of labor and all commodities were given as so many pounds of tobacco. All tributes and taxes were paid in tobacco. All salaries were paid in the same way, and by the payment of tobacco even the livings of the clergymen were secured. When maidens were brought over in 1619 to be the wives of the bachelors of the settlement, they were paid for in tobacco. It is easy to see how, in such fluctuations as were inevitable in a currency like this, distress was sure to come sooner or later. It was quite impossible to make a stable currency out of a commodity subject to so many changes of one sort and another. It was altogether impossible so to regulate and keep balanced the supply and the demand as to insure stability and consistency. It is easily to be seen, therefore, how much of the distress that came to the colonists in their economic affairs grew out of the instability of the commodity which had come into use as the currency of the realm. Only a little money ever found its way into the colony. The balances between the tobacco grower in America and the commission merchant in England was frequently in favor of the English merchant, so that the

amount of money brought from England was meagerly small. And even this small amount could not long endure the competition of so cheap and uncertain a money as tobacco, and was soon hurried away to other places and markets where in a more congenial atmosphere it had a better chance for use and service.

It was the cultivation of tobacco that determined the peculiar system of labor under which the colony lived and thrived, and which fastened upon the American people the system of African slavery. The form of labor known as the "indenture service" and the "redemptionists" is to be traced to the increasing demand for labor in the cultivation of tobacco. In the northern colonies the conditions were such as not to require the same sort of service and labor. There were no large tracts of land to be cleared and cultivated; so among the northern colonies there was a demand only for domestic service and such labor as was incident to the cultivation of smaller and more familiar crops, and wherever African slavery was maintained it was only in the most desultory fashion and employed mainly for domestic purposes. Hence the grades of society were not nearly so plainly marked in the northern colonies as they were in the southern colonies. The northern colonies presented and preserved a much more homogeneous society. The seeming aristocracy of the South grew from this very condition of affairs. From the nature of the case there was bound to be a class of masters and a class of servants or slaves.

The cultivation of tobacco determined the plantation life by which the Virginia Colony was distinguished. It fixed the life of the colonists as being rural rather than urban, a feature which distinguished it, especially, from the settlements in New England. On this account the basis of representation in the General Assembly was fixed as from the

county rather than from the towns. In spite of vigorous and repeated efforts on the part of the General Assembly, this state of things continued. It was earnestly endeavored time and again to make the towns the centres of life. The demand for fresh land from year to year made it necessary that large tracts of land should be brought under cultivation. These great plantations thus established were in themselves, so to speak, separate jurisdictions and municipalities. Each plantation was sufficient unto itself in all things except those that were imported from the old country. They had their own industries necessary to the manufacture of all the things required for the life of the plantation. Most of them had their own wharves, at which vessels from England landed and delivered their freight, and from which the returning cargoes were loaded. In the effort spoken of above to bring life into the cities, it was again and again undertaken to force the settlers to receive their goods and ship their tobacco at towns designated by the authorities. This was never made successful. The owners of the different plantations insisted on having their own ports of entry. It is to the management of these great plantations that is due the faculty of leadership and government so early manifested by the Virginia colonists. The estates were very large, and the labor required in maintaining them brought to each plantation large numbers of people with all the necessities incident to a community so varied in capacities and wants. To govern these plantations, therefore, called into exercise to a very high degree the faculty of administration, and for this form of life the cultivation of tobacco must be held responsible.

One of the most interesting and curious phases of the influence of tobacco cultivation is to be seen in the part it played in furthering the cause of religious liberty. In 1755, when a short crop of tobacco had suddenly enhanced the

prices of that commodity, the Assembly passed an act authorizing the payment of all tobacco debts in money at twopence per pound. This was the rate established by long usage. Three years after its first enactment this act was renewed. The salaries of the clergymen of the Church of England were paid in tobacco, and if this law should be enforced they would be great losers thereby. There were about sixty-five of these clerical gentlemen, and naturally enough they were thrown into a great state of agitation over the proposed enforcement of this law. They made numerous speeches and circulated numerous pamphlets, and finally sent an appeal to England, and with the aid of Sherlock, Bishop of London, they succeeded in procuring an order from the Council that the act be declared void. Immediately suits were brought on the part of the clergymen to recover the difference between twopence per pound in the depreciated currency and the value of the tobacco to which, by the law, they were entitled. It was in the defense of one of these suits against the clergymen that Patrick Henry, in 1763, displayed for the first time his marvelous eloquence, and although the law was plainly against him, he really won the suit, as the clergy were awarded only one penny damages. This is a part of the story of the struggle for religious liberty, and it took its first concrete expression in forcing upon the clergy of the Established Church of Virginia a depreciated currency instead of tobacco, to which they were plainly enough entitled. So to speak, therefore, tobacco was the entering wedge of the final and complete separation of church and state soon to take place, not only in Virginia, but throughout the United States.

Of political significance also was the question of the tobacco trade. One can but recall that when Charles I. came to the throne of England he hoped to perpetuate the

policy of his father, King James I., and to rule England his own way, and, if necessary, without parliamentary sanction. Unfortunately for him, on coming to the throne he found embodied in the English mind the principle of no taxation without representation, and in order to secure money he had to tolerate Parliament. When James I. died, the colonists sent at once a commission, headed by Governor Yeardley, to assure the new King of their allegiance and loyalty, and to express to him their very warm desire that the policies which they had been allowed to pursue in the latter part of the reign of his illustrious father he would graciously allow them to continue. A Parliament in Virginia was quite a different thing from a Parliament in England, and if he might secure from the Virginia Parliament what he could have only by assembling the English Parliament and begging at its hands, he would have fallen upon a most satisfying expedient. It occurred to him that if the tobacco trade might be put entirely into the hands of the crown he might be able to secure such tributes and taxes as would make him virtually independent of the English Parliament, and so he was disposed to look kindly upon the overtures from Virginia made by its commissioners. He made, therefore, an exceedingly gracious and favorable response to the overtures of the Virginia colonists, and recognized the Assembly, addressing it as "our trusty and well-beloved Burgesses of the Grand Assembly of Virginia." Thus he recognized officially the existence and authority of the Parliament in Virginia. James I. had effected an arrangement with the London Company by which there was to be imported into England from Virginia not more than sixty thousand pounds of tobacco annually, and from the Spanish colonies not more than forty thousand pounds. In his desire to win the favor of the Virginia colonists Charles I. prohibited all importa-

tions to England from Spain, so that Virginia and the Bermuda Islands had a monopoly of the English tobacco trade. Curiously enough Charles I. failed to realize his expectations in this point. In one way or another he failed to get the tobacco trade under the control of the crown. Nevertheless, it remains true that the tobacco trade was the factor that influenced King Charles I. to recognize the existence of the General Assembly of the Colony of Virginia.

Furthermore, in the agitations that waged about tobacco can be discovered those premonitory and preliminary struggles that resulted in Bacon's Rebellion and other lesser eruptions, and finally in the great War of Independence. The discontent and distress among the tobacco growers was not, indeed, the single cause of Bacon's Rebellion, but that it was a most lively co-operating cause there can be no doubt at all.

The widespread distress caused by the enforcement of the navigation laws was the cause of universal discontent that might easily have been inflamed into most serious outbreaks but for the conservative spirit of loyalty to the old country. The first of these navigation acts was passed in 1651. It forbade the bringing of goods into England except in English ships or in ships built by the owners of the goods. This act was not intended to injure the trade of the colonists, but was aimed at Holland, whose competition for trade with England was becoming exceedingly uncomfortable; and it was thought that if Holland were deprived of the American tobacco trade, she would be eliminated as a rival in the sale of goods to the American colonists. It was still further hoped that Holland would be compelled, instead of buying her tobacco from America, to buy it from English merchants at their own price. In this the English people were grievously disappointed, because the long-headed Hollanders hit upon the scheme of growing their tobacco in the East Indies and importing it therefrom.

The application of the navigation act to the American colonists meant that the colonists could trade only with England, and could use only English ships. Fortunately, Cromwell did not put himself at any pains to insist upon a strict enforcement of this act, but when Charles II. came to the throne he sought not only to enforce the first act, but to issue another act much more far-reaching in its injurious effects upon the American colonists. This act required not only that all goods carried to and from England should be in English vessels, but that all commodities produced in America should be exported to England and the colonies of England alone, thus closing to the Americans every other market for the sale of products, and presenting only a single market from which products were to be exchanged. The result was that Englishmen bought tobacco on their own terms and sold their English goods at their own price, every sort of competition being eliminated by the operation of the navigation laws. Numerous and vigorous protests went up from may sources, but all were futile. The inevitable result was the depreciation in the price of tobacco. The Virginians sought in many ways to remedy the evil, but were never able to do so. It was sought from time to time to curtail the crops, and at one time to prevent the raising of any crop at all. But it was impossible to get perfect agreement among the planters and to secure the co-operation of the tobacco growers of Maryland and Carolina.

In 1664 the tobacco crop of Virginia was worth less than three pounds and fifteen shillings to each person. In 1667 the price of tobacco fell to one halfpenny per pound. Under such conditions of things it was quite impossible for the colonists to maintain loyal and uncomplaining relations with the old country, and out of this universal discontent began those eruptions that finally resulted in the War of

Independence. Mr. Bruce quotes from Thomas Ludwell, writing to Lord Berkeley in London, "that there were but three influences restraining the smaller land owners in Virginia from rising in rebellion, namely: faith in the mercy of God, loyalty to the King, and affection for the government." There is an account of a meeting held by certain citizens of Surry, protesting against the condition of things and declaring their purpose to refuse payment of taxes. The ringleaders in this meeting were fined, but afterwards had their fines remitted, with the understanding that they were to show penitence for their wrongdoing and to pay the court charges. This latter, perhaps, they were forced into, but the former we are sure never came about.

It is easy to see how the seeds of the Revolution were to be found in this discontentment brought about by the enforcement of these navigation laws and the resulting low prices of tobacco. So it was among the Virginia tobacco growers that one finds those early protests which gathered energy and volume with every repetition, and which resulted finally in the splendid Declaration of American Independence.

These considerations abundantly vindicate the above statement from Mr. Moncure Conway that the tobacco industry was so thoroughly a part of the social and political life of the colonists of the seventeenth century that its history would involve the history of English and American liberty. Seldom has ever a single commodity been so determining a factor in the life of a people.

Tobacco was, apparently, not indigenous to Virginia, and must in some way have been transported from more tropical climes. Mr. Bruce, in his "Economic History of Virginia," calls attention to the fact that in spite of its long presence and continued cultivation in Virginia, it is never found as a voluntary growth.

One of the mythological traditions concerning its origin is the story of a Mussulman prophet who found a serpent one day in a frozen state. This serpent he pressed to his bosom and warmed it back to life. At once his serpentine majesty gave warning that, according to the rules governing the relations existing between his family and the human kind, he would be obliged to bite him. The prophet protested that if he were to do so it would be a piece of very base ingratitude. The serpent replied that he was exceedingly sorry, but that he had sworn by Allah to bite him. That being the case, the prophet declared that there was nothing else to be done than for him to be bitten; that an oath made to Allah must be kept at all costs; so he presented his hand to the snake, who immediately pierced it with his fangs. At once the wise and merciful prophet with his mouth sucked the poison from his finger and spat it upon the ground. Immediately there sprang up in the place the tobacco plant, which holds in it the poison of the snake and the soothing mercy of the prophet.

Among the Indians the weed was held in very high esteem, and was regarded as having many mysterious and efficacious virtues. It was used in many of their religious observances. If a coming storm was to be averted, the dust of tobacco was thrown to the winds. If a turbulent sea was to be quieted, its dust was thrown upon the waves. If for any great disaster the gods were to be appeased and satisfied, there was an oblation performed in the shape of tobacco dust. If there were special grounds for great thanksgiving, tobacco dust was cast with generous hands toward the skies. The pipe was the symbol of kindly and hospitable relations. The first offer of hospitality was in the passing of a pipe of peace from the mouth of the chief to his guests, and so on descending from greater to lesser members of the group or tribe. On

one of the first exploring expeditions the settlers discovered upon the shores of the river the stalwart form of the Indian chief, bearing in one hand his bow and arrows, and holding in the other the pipe, by this posture indicating his entire willingness to give either war or free hospitality. When Smith first went among the Rappahannocks, at one point of his journey he was met by four Indian chiefs carrying the pipe of peace and likewise the bow and arrows, thus declaring their disposition for either war or peace.

While there is a record made of the method that the Indians employed in the cultivation of corn and other products of the field, there is no account of the method of the planting and cultivation of tobacco employed by the aborigines. It was usually cultivated in patches of ground near their wigwams. The tobacco grown by them was rather stunted, both in length of stalk and size of leaf, as compared to the tobacco grown in Spain. It seems that they allowed each stalk to come to seed, a method which is eschewed by the more successful grower of tobacco. The tobacco was cured either by the warmth of the sun or by the heat of fire, the Indians adopting either method as exigency might seem to require. The settlers first cured tobacco in bulk, but about 1620 they put it on sticks much after the modern fashion.

Tobacco was not cultivated any more largely among the Indians than seemed to be necessary for the supply of the wants of the tribes. It does not appear to have been an article of commerce among them. It is said that while the Indians never gave over the cultivation of corn, even after the settlers were growing superabundant harvests of it, they did quit the cultivation of tobacco when the white settlers began to cultivate it to any large extent, evidently esteeming that it was cheaper thus to procure it or that the tobacco grown by the white settlers was superior in quality

to that which they had been used. It was used by them as a stimulant only in smoking, and was never thought to be fit for chewing. The pipes in which it was smoked were usually made of clay or of shell. Smith describes the pipe stems used by the stalwart Susquehannas as being very long, heavy and elaborately carved; so heavy, indeed, that a pipe stem could easily be wielded as an instrument of death.

The first mention by a European of the Indian weed is in the diary of Columbus, bearing the date of November 20, 1492. Soon after this tobacco cultivation was introduced into the Spanish Peninsula, and for a long time Spain furnished the tobacco that was carried into England. In about 1560 it was carried over into France by a man who was ambassador at Lisbon, named Jean Nicot. Hence the origin of the word nicotine.

On the return of the settlers sent out by Lord Raleigh under Lane in 1586, some tobacco was brought into England and introduced into conspicuous social centres, and early in the seventeenth century it was becoming quite fashionable to smoke. Pope Urban VIII. thought the innovation so serious and harmful as to demand an official expression and condemnation from him, so he issued a bull against its use, and King James condemned so the use of tobacco that he wrote his now famous "Counterblast."

The cultivation of tobacco by the English in Virginia began at the instigation and with the example of John Rolfe in 1612. It is said that John Rolfe himself was very fond of the weed, and began its cultivation in a small way simply to supply his own individual wants. The success with which he was rewarded suggested to him the possibility of the colonists finding at last a product that might be of commercial use. Hitherto the exportations of the colony had been of a very indefinite and irregular sort, consisting mainly of such

things as cedar, sassafras and clapboards. But the demand for things of this sort was not great enough to secure anything like a permanent commerce. Governor Dale watched with his sagacious eye the experiment of John Rolfe, and was quick to perceive the success of the experiment and to take advantage of it. With remarkable prudence, however, he took great pains to see that foodstuffs were first produced, and only when a man had planted three acres of corn was he permitted to set one acre in tobacco. If such wisdom could have prevailed in the years that were to follow, in this particular matter, it would have been greatly to the advantage of the colonists. When Governor Yeardley, in 1616, succeeded Governor Dale, he found the cultivation of tobacco fairly established, and from this time on it became the recognized staple of the colony. Thus Virginia inaugurated the first interchange of commodities between the old country and the new that was really entitled to be dignified with the name of commerce.

The cultivation of tobacco progressed by great leaps and bounds, going from a few thousand pounds into the millions before the Revolution of 1776. In 1619 twenty thousand pounds were exported to England. In 1620 the amount of exportation was doubled, and the increase was steady until 1628, when it amounted to five hundred thousand pounds. Eleven years later it had grown to the enormous proportion of one million five hundred thousand pounds, and with slight undulations the exportation continued in growth until 1745, when it reached thirty-eight million pounds, and in 1753 it amounted to fifty-three million pounds. These statistics contain not only the story of the most romantic prosperity and of depression and disasters, but also the story of great religious, social and political struggles. Into these old and dry figures can therefore be read the history of the joys and sor-

rows, successes and failures, and the struggles of nearly one hundred years.

One of the marvelous facts of history is the rapidity with which the use of tobacco spread throughout England in the seventeenth century. It became a most violent and costly fad in all conditions of English society. Rich and poor, old and young, male and female, gave themselves with strange avidity to the use of the weed.

Lord Disraeli defends the "Counterblast" of James I. as being an effort of a seriously-minded monarch to save his people from a vicious and destructive habit. He declared that James I. "saw great families ruined by the epidemic madness, and sacrificed all the revenues which the crown might derive from it in order to assist in its suppression."

Tobacco shops, where men were allowed to assemble for the use of the weed, both in smoking and chewing, were established in numerous places for the convenience of the public. These shops were described in a verse by an unnamed poet in a way like the following:

> "In a tobacco shop, resembling hell
> (Fire, stink and smoke must be where devils dwell),
> He sits; you cannot see his face for vapor,
> Offering to Pluto with a tallow taper."

A French traveler, in 1672, writing concerning the widespread use of tobacco, said that "it was the custom when the children went to school to carry in their satchels with their books a pipe and tobacco, which their mothers took care to fill early in the morning, it serving them instead of the breakfast; and at the accustomed hour every one laid aside his book to light his pipe, and the master smoked with them, teaching them how to hold their pipes and how to draw in the smoke, thus accustoming them to it from their youth, believing it absolutely necessary for a man's health."

A Mr. Butler, in a curious volume, speaks of it in this fashion:

"It cureth many griefs, dolour, imposthume, or obstructions, proceeding of cold or wind, especially in the head or breast. The fumes taken in the pipe are good against rumes, catarrh, hoarseness, ache in the head, stomach, lungs and breast; also in want of meat, drink, sleep and rest."

Another one declared that "when all things were made none were made better than this to be a lone man's company, a bachelor's friend, a hungry man's food, a sad man's cordial, a wakeful man's sleep, a chilly man's fire; while for staunching wounds, purging of rheum, settling of the stomach, there is no herb like it under the canopy of Heaven."

Even Spenser, speaking of its curative powers, called it "divine tobacco."

There was a common notion that, to a measure at least, it could be substituted for food, and being in a compact form and convenient and accessible, it was considered a great addition to one's economic outfit.

> "Much victuals serve for gluttony to fatten men like swine,
> But he is a frugal man indeed that with a leaf can dine,
> And needs no napkin for his hands, his fingers' ends to wipe,
> But keeps his kitchen in a box and roasts meat in a pipe."

This is an evident allusion to the belief of the people in the nutritious as well as the stimulative qualities of the weed.

Oliver Cromwell held the same views as King James about tobacco, claiming that the raising of it in England was to "misuse and misemploy the soil of the kingdom." He sent out soldiers, who themselves were great users of the weed, to trample down and destroy all the growing crops of tobacco. It was related that some of these same soldiers, in attending the funeral of Cromwell, ostentatiously smoked, reaping thus a sort of poetic vengeance upon him.

The moralists and preachers of the seventeenth century were not slow in making the use of the weed the vehicle for moral and religious instruction. A very famous example of such use can be discovered in the following quaint verses. It should be explained, however, before these verses are recited, that smoking tobacco was called "drinking tobacco," as the taking in of the smoke seemed to the mind of the day very much to resemble the homely art of drinking. And so when one was asked to have a drink it might, perhaps, have meant nothing more than the offering of a cigar or pipe.

"Why should we so much despise
So good and wholesome an exercise,
As early or late to meditate,
Thus think and drink tobacco.

"The earthen pipe, so lily-white,
Shows thou art a mortal wight;
Even such gone with a small touch—
Thus think and drink tobacco.

"And when the smoke ascending high,
Think on the worldly vanity,
Of worldly stuff, 'tis gone with a puff,
Thus think and drink tobacco.

"And when the pipe is foul within,
Think how the soul's defiled with sin;
To purge with fire it doth require—
Thus think and drink tobacco.

"Lastly, the ashes left behind
May daily show, to move the mind,
That to ashes and dust return we must—
Thus think and drink tobacco."

CHAPTER XII.

HOME BUILDING IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Plainly enough it was not the intention of the first settlers of Virginia to establish themselves in permanent homes on the new continent. They had come with dreams of quickly acquired wealth and of the recuperation of lost fortunes, expecting to return to England to resume there the old place as gentlemen of leisure or to further increase their store by the pursuit of a mercantile or industrial career surrounded by the comforts of civilization. It was very far from their plan to spend all their days in this land of infidels and savages. On this account a number of years passed by before there was any real attempt at home building. The two prime requisites in home building were altogether absent from the lives of these first settlers, namely, houses to live in and women to manage them. Concerning the first, Smith bears testimony that the first homes were scarcely more than the common shacks ordinarily used by huntsmen and fishermen. He describes their lodgings as being "castles in the air," so flimsy and temporary were their first structures.

Concerning the women, the records bear out the statement that among the first settlers there were none of them. Nor were there any with the first supply which Newport brought over in the fall of 1607. The first women of whose coming we have any record were brought over in the second supply in 1608, and were Mistress Forest, probably the wife of Thomas Forest, a gentleman who came to Virginia at this time, and

her maid, Anne Burras. The maid, we have already learned, was married in the fall of 1608 to John Laydon. This statement is an apparent contradiction to the story told by Strachey that Pocahontas used to visit the settlement and frequently took the boys and girls out on the Jamestown green and taught them various Indian games. Evidently Mr. Strachey was confusing the visits of Pocahontas with later visits made by other Indian maidens after the days of John Smith in Virginia. If we can rely on Smith's history, Mistress Forest and Anne Burras were "the first gentlewoman and woman servant to arrive in the colony."

In the nine ships under the command of Gates, Somers, Newport and others, there were one hundred women and about four or five hundred men. This was really the first coming of the women who were to be the mothers and builders of Virginia homes. During the same year, 1609, a broadside was issued concerning the plantation in Virginia, making an appeal for workmen of "all crafts, especially blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, shipwrights, turners, and such as knew how to plant vineyards, hunters, shoemakers and sawyers, and those who spin wool, and all others, men as well as women, who have any occupation." It is to be remembered that with Somers and Gates were John Rolfe and his wife, and on the Sea Venture, which was wrecked on the Bermudas, there were twenty women and children, indicating that the gentlemen who came in the party were bringing their families along with them. In 1611 there came more women, but they are designated as "a few women." This was the report that the Spanish ambassador in England made to the King of Spain, complaining that English settlers were gaining a foothold in Virginia. Toward the end of 1611 another such report speaks of the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates in Virginia with two hundred and eighty men and twenty women. It

was doubtless the coming of this group that excited the suspicion and alarm of the Spanish ambassador.

In 1616, on Mr. Dale's return to England, there was a report on the state of Virginia, and allusion was made to the fact that there remained in Virginia only a poor remnant of men and women. Bacon, in his essay on "Plantations," which was written for the purpose of encouraging the settlement of Virginia, shows conclusively that only a few women had, up to that time, been sent to the colony. "When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men, that the plantation may spread into generations and not be ever pieced from without." In other words, Bacon was looking to the time when Virginia might have a population which would increase from its own offspring and not be dependent any longer upon constant importations from England.

There can be no doubt but at the time Bacon wrote the London Company had become aroused to the situation. In the proceedings of the London Company, November 3, 1619, there is recorded a report from Sir George Yeardley asking that one hundred women should be sent over. "Maides young and uncorrupt to make wives to the Inhabitants, and by that meanes to make the men there more setled and lesse moveable, who, by defect thereof (as is credibly reported), stay there but to gett something and then to returne for England, wch will breed dissolucon, and so, an overthrow of the plantacon. These women if they marry to the publiq ffarmors, to be transported at the charges of the Company; Is otherwise, then those that takes them to wife to pay the said Company their charges of transportacon, and it was never fitter time to sende them than nowe." This scheme was approved by the London Company, and maidens and wives were sent in accordance with the request of the Governor. It should

be said, however, that even before this action had been officially taken, there had come already ninety young women to Virginia in the early part of 1619. This, however, was due to the far-sighted statesmanship of Sir Edwin Sandys. In 1621 the London Company again took up the matter of sending maids to Virginia, concerning which the following entries are made in the records of the London Company:

"The Third roll was for sendinge maydes to Virginia to be made wyves, wch the planters there did verie much desire by the want of whome have sprange the greatest hinderances of the encrease of the Plantacon in that most of them esteeminge Virginia not as a place of habitacon but onely of a short sojourninge have applied themselves and their labors wholly to the raisinge of present profitt and utterly neglected not onely staple Comodities but even the verie necessities of man's life, in regard whereof and to prevent so great an inconvenience hereafter whereby the planters' minds may be the faster tyed to Virginia by the bonds of wyves and children, care hath bin taken to provide them younge handsome and honestly educated maydes whereof sixty are already sente to Virginia, being such as were specially recommended unto the Company for their good bringinge up by their parents or friends of good worth: Wch maydes are to be disposed in marriage to the most honest and industrious planters who are to defraye and satisfie to the Adventurors the charges of their passages and provisions at such rates as they and the Adventurors' Agents there shall agree and in case any of them faile through mortality it is ordered that a proporconable addicon shalbe made upon the rest. In the furtherance of wch Christian Accon diuers of the said Adventurors had underwritt divers good somes of money none under 8 li whereby the whole Some of that Roll did already amount to 800 li as may appeare by the subscriptions."

A party, in writing from England at this time, said:

"We send you a shipment, one widow and eleven maids, for wives of the people of Virginia; there hath been especial care had in the choice of them, for there hath not one of them been received but upon good commendations.

"In case they cannot be presently married, we desire that they may be put with several householders that have wives, until they can be provided with husbands. There are nearly fifty more that are shortly to come, and are sent by our Honorable lord and treasurer, the Earl of Southampton, and certain worthy gentlemen, who, taking into consideration that the plantation can never flourish till families be planted, and the respect of wives and children for their people on the soil, therefore having given this fair beginning; reimbursing of whose charges it is ordered that every man that marries them, give one hundred and twenty pounds of best leaf tobacco for each of them.

"We desire that the marriage be free according to nature, and we would not have those maidens deceived and married to servants, but only to such freemen or tenants as have means to maintain them. We pray you, therefore, to be fathers of them in this business, not enforcing them to marry against their wills."

With the introduction of women and the forming of family ties in the colony there followed, of course, a very general domestic and social improvement. The first sign of this betterment was to be discovered in the improvement of the homes and the increase of domestic conveniences. It has already been suggested that the first homes were of a very rude and flimsy sort, made chiefly of clapboard and logs, but even before Smith's departure from the colony there was a great solicitude on his part that the people should be housed in more comfortable and more secure homes. We

find that he insisted that the London Company should send over men who would be able to build stable and comfortable houses, making an appeal for workmen of all crafts, especially carpenters and brick masons. On the succession of Governor Yeardley the same urgency was repeatedly expressed. He was instrumental in getting for the colonists very many things that contributed to the comfort and usefulness of the homes.

The first houses that were constructed were frame buildings, the timber for which was cut from the neighboring forests and sawed at first by hand, though we know that a sawmill was established at Jamestown in 1630. The output of such mills as were in the colony must have been very meagre, for throughout the seventeenth century there was a constant complaint on account of the lack of suitable timber and boards for the construction of houses.

Jamestown was at first literally a wooden town, on which account it was speedily and completely swept away by fire in the terrible winter of 1608-'09. Not until these disastrous conflagrations had been repeated several times was there any real purpose to secure houses of brick. There were, to be sure, a few bricklayers in the colony, but their work had been hitherto confined mainly to the building of foundations and the construction of chimneys. It was provided that brickmakers should be placed upon the college lands at Henrico, but so far as the record goes there was not a single brick house in the colony at the time the Virginia Colony became a royal province. Thirteen years later Governor Francis Wyat received instructions to the effect that he should require every owner of a plantation so large as one hundred acres of land to build upon it a brick house at least twenty-four feet long and sixteen feet wide, but there is no evidence that these instructions were carried out in many instances.

This same order was afterward repeated to Sir William Berkeley. It is known that the secretary of the colony, Kemp, did erect a brick residence at about this time in Jamestown, which was reported to be the most substantial private dwelling in the colony. It is likely that during Berkeley's time more than one-half of the buildings constructed at Jamestown were of brick, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century many of the best homes were built of brick. Berkeley caused a brick mansion to be built for himself at Green Springs, about six miles from Jamestown. The larger colonial mansions, however, were not erected until later in the eighteenth century. The seventeenth century houses were usually not over forty feet long by twenty feet wide, and quite frequently not even so large. None of these first buildings exhibited any architectural design or beauty. They were usually a story and a half high, with dormer windows, and in many ways were quite unique, and in many things quite attractive; but they did not by any means compare with the homes of Englishmen of the same rank.

It was an exceedingly difficult matter to procure materials that entered into the construction of buildings; especially was it a difficult matter to find nails. So scarce were they that we are told that some land-owners, whenever they moved westward to take up better lands, used to burn their cabins in order to secure nails for the construction of their new homes. This custom became so general that in 1645 a law was passed requiring every planter to leave his dwelling intact, and that he should be allowed, at public expense, as many nails as two impartial men would decide was the number of nails in the building which he was leaving behind him. This was done with the hope of preventing further destruction of property. Doubtless the first houses at Jamestown, in the majority of cases, were built without the use of nails.

Mr. Butler, no doubt, had ample ground for his assertion, in "Virginia Unmasked," that the Virginia homes were the worst in the world, and that the most wretched cottages in England were equal, if not superior, to the finest dwellings in the colony.

The houses were ordinarily built upon the same general plan, and the typical dwelling in Virginia in the seventeenth century was a plain, unadorned frame house of moderate size, with a chimney built on the outside at each end.

There is an account of the home occupied by Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., at the close of the seventeenth century, in which it is described as containing what is known as the old and new hall, a room over the hall, an outer room, an upper chamber, a chamber of Mrs. Bacon's, a chamber above it, also a kitchen, a dairy and storeroom; the three latter, doubtless, being separated from the main residence. Colonel Bacon was one of the largest property holders in Virginia, and his residence must have been far above the average in size and convenient arrangement.

Robert Beverley, the historian, whose estate was appraised at many thousands of dollars in our money, occupied a house which contained a chamber in which he himself slept, a second chamber overhead, a porch and hall chamber, a dairy and kitchen, and the overseer's room. The plastering of these homes was nothing more than a thick layer of mud covered with whitewash. The roofing was usually of shingles or clapboards. There were rarely glass windows, but only slides.

The furniture of these early homes was imported into the colony, mainly in exchange for tobacco shipped to England. The furnishings of the homes, however unattractive the exterior might have been, were, in many instances, equally as good as that of the best London homes. Their bed-

steads are described under the following titles: "The large "bed," "the sea bed," "the flock bed" and "the trundle bed." The bedsticks were usually made of canvas stuffed with the feathers of wild and domestic fowl, but oftentimes were stuffed with the flower of the cattail, which is almost as soft as down. In the chamber was usually found a trunk, a chest of drawers with a looking-glass attached, and an open fireplace with andirons of brass or iron. The dining-room was fitted out with an imported table, chairs and sideboard. For the poorer class the plates from which they ate were made of pewter. For the better class china was used and imported from England. By the middle of the seventeenth century there was, according to the author of "Leah and Rachel," a good supply of silver in many of the homes of the prosperous planters. Silver grand cups and spoons were in special evidence. The candle was the common means of lighting the house at night, and was usually manufactured from wax and suet. The candlesticks were of many kinds and fashions—earthenware, pewter, brass, copper, iron, and, at times, even silver entered into their manufacture. In the homes of the poorer classes the pine knot, in all likelihood, took the place of the candle.

As to the matter of dress, it is somewhat difficult to discover satisfactory information. It is probable that the men of the colony dressed, especially on occasions, far more according to the fashion of England than was usually expected of people living in the wilderness. This is explained by the fact that many of the settlers being English gentlemen, brought with them the clothes of London gallants of their rank, and that they continued for a long time to import their wardrobes from England. John Smith advised that every settler coming to the colony should secure in England a Monmouth cap, three shirts, one waistcoat, one suit of can-

vas, one of broadcloth, three pairs of Irish stockings, one pair of garters, four pairs of shoes and one dozen pairs of points.

A gentleman dying at Jamestown in 1629 bequeathed his personal clothes to friends. Among his garments there was a coif, a cross cloth of wrought gold, a pair of silk stockings, a pair of red slippers, a sea-green scarf, six dozen buttons of silk and thread, a felt hat, a Polish fur cap, a doublet of black camlet, a vest, a sword and a gold belt. It should be said, however, that this gentleman was a prominent merchant of Jamestown, and probably this bequest represented a part of his stock of goods which he had been offering for sale to the English gentlemen of the Jamestown settlement.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the House of Burgesses passed a law prohibiting the introduction of garments containing silk; of the introduction of silk pieces, except for hoods or scarfs; or of silver, gold or bone lace, or of ribbons wrought with gold or silver. Such a sumptuary law, however, as may easily be imagined, had no appreciable effect, and we know that the Virginians at the time of William Berkeley dressed in the mode of English gentlemen. All the privations and hardships of the wilderness life could not take away from them the inherited tendencies of old England in the matter of dress.

From the meagre descriptions that remain to us, it would seem that the wardrobe of the women of the colonies was somewhat less elaborate than that of the men of the first rank. For a long time after the establishment of the colony all of their clothes were imported from England. Silk seems to have been quite in vogue as material for dresses, petticoats and stockings. It must be remembered that it was very many years before cotton came into cultivation and use,

and that there was not at first, therefore, the spinning-wheel's presence or that of the loom in the homes of the colonists. Later on these found a large and useful place in the economies of the household, and many of the garments of the poorer class, especially of the servants and slaves, were spun, woven and made on these plantations. It came to be after awhile so that each plantation was a kingdom unto itself, and provided largely for all the food eaten and the clothes worn on the plantation.

The dress of these colonial dames was not altogether devoid of jewels and ornaments. Jewels, such as pearl necklaces, gold pendants, silver earrings and gold finger rings were frequently to be seen on the persons of the better class of women. These were, of course, brought over from England in most instances by the wives of the early governors, members of Council, and of other distinguished gentlemen who came to the colony in the early days. By the time of the flourishing days of the middle of the seventeenth century these evidences of wealth and luxury were imported from England.

An interesting use was made of a jewel called the gift ring, and was provided for in wills. These gift rings were left to friends and relatives as parting mementoes, and were frequently designated as mourning rings. In the will of Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., it was ordered that twenty pounds of his estate should be used to buy mourning rings for certain persons to whom he was greatly attached. John Page's will authorized the purchase of eighteen such rings.

The plantations were widely removed from one another, and communication between them was not easy unless they were located along the river banks; then the river served as an easy and delightful means of transportation. The roads were scarcely more than bridle-paths, and the streams were rarely

bridged. It will be recalled, however, that in the country, as the first settlers found it, there was very little undergrowth, and it was easy to find passageways through the forests. In the early days the planters had no horses. It was 1619 before it had occurred to the company in London to send horses to the farms. In 1627 Charles I. urged the people of Virginia to produce pitch and tar. The Governor and Council replied that nothing could be done along this line until the colony was provided with horses with which to transport the wood to the kilns where the pitch and tar could be made. As late as 1649 there were only three hundred horses in the entire colony, and fourteen years later the record shows that this number had been greatly increased. The prices were, however, still very high. In 1669 an act of the Assembly set forth the fact that horses were becoming a burden on the community, in that they were allowed to run at large. This is an indication that the number must have rapidly increased.

Cows, goats and swine were brought from the old country at a very early date, but we are told that during the "Starvation Time" all of these were killed with the exception of one sow; so when Lord Delaware arrived in 1610 he dispatched forthwith a ship to the Bermudas to procure a number of wild hogs. In 1611 Dale brought over a cargo of sixty cows, and in the summer of the same year another cargo of one hundred cows and two hundred hogs was imported. Every effort was made to get more beasts of burden. Oxen were in more common use than at the present day, and frequently the ox was used in plowing. In 1615 Argall made an expedition into Canada and seized a number of horses, which were brought into Virginia. Yet, when Yeardley became Governor, domestic animals were so scarce in the colony that he made a long report, urging the London

Company to send to the colony a number of horses, heifers, etc., and he imported a herd of twenty-four cattle to be placed on his farm at Flower de Hundred. The fact that cattle were so scarce in Virginia probably explains, if it does not excuse, Dr. John Pott's act of larceny in stealing some cows. By 1650, however, cows were very numerous and prices had very greatly decreased. Still, for a number of years, in order that the cattle might be allowed to multiply, it was made a felony to slaughter a cow. The proportion of cows and oxen was very much larger than that of horses, as is shown by the inventories of the estates during the seventeenth century, the proportion being generally one horse to seven cattle. It is doubtless true that the first Virginia families worked their lands with oxen and used their horses more for pleasure than as beasts of burden.

From this statement it will be seen that after the first years of colonial life, very rapid progress was made in the evolution of the Virginia home. With a very remarkable celerity, due to the thrift of the colony in the development of the commerce in tobacco, these settlers were able to establish homes in which, by the close of the seventeenth century, there was exceeding plenty and exceeding comfort. It is, no doubt, due to the domestic affluence of these early days that the Virginias have ever been fond of good living. Early in the history of the colony the grace of hospitality was assiduously and cheerfully cultivated, so that since the founding of these first Virginia homes there have been no doors thrown quite so wide open in the offer of genial and cheerful hospitality as the homes of the "Old Dominion." Even unto this day hospitality has nowhere under the stars so generous an exemplification as in the homes of the heirs and successors to these builders of the first homes in the Virginia Colony.

CHAPTER XIII.

MASSACRE AND REVENGE.

Under the wise administration of Governor Yeardley, in three years the Virginia Colony had reached a very high state of thrift and prosperity. There were now something like four thousand Englishmen in the colony. Plantations had been planted all the way from the falls at Richmond, on either side of the James River, reaching around Hampton and Newport News to Chesapeake Bay. Everywhere were the evidences of contentment and prosperity. The James River was flecked with the sails of vessels bringing and carrying commerce to and from the new colony. In the last three years there had been especial development in several directions. The General Assembly had been established, and was being cherished with determination and patriotic pride. With its establishment there had come a self-reliance and a feeling of competency that were the guarantee of increasing strength and stability. There had sprung up between the colony and the old country a most remarkable commerce in tobacco. So large were the returns from its cultivation that many of the most substantial class from the old country were attracted to the new colony. Within three years, with unwonted dispatch, these people were being established upon large and thrifty plantations.

With the coming of the maids in 1619 the home life of the colony had undergone a great change. Homes had been established, with all the influence and encouragement to industries incident to domestic life. The prospect was one of

unusual promise, and there seemed to be on the horizon nothing prophetic of any serious setback in the history of the colony. Upon the marriage of Pocahontas with Rolfe, it seemed as though amicable relations were to be indeed maintained between the two races. The Indians were no longer feared by the white settlers. The freest sort of traffic and intercourse was maintained between the two races. There was a constant visitation of the Indians to the settlement of the whites, where they had cordial welcome and where they were allowed the largest liberties. The wise regulations that had been made by the first Assembly had fallen into disuse; especially had there been a violation of the law prohibiting the sale of firearms, until here and there in every group of Indians there might be found firearms, in the use of which they had become wonderfully expert. It is said that Governor Yeardley himself kept an Indian servant supplied with firearms in order that game might be procured for his use. This had been done so gradually that no one was aware of how it ever came about that there had been put into the hands of people liable to become their enemies at any time these implements of destruction. But so quiet had been the demeanor of the Indians, so kindly the treatment of the whites at their hands, so many the tokens of cordial good will, that all suspicion of any hatred or treachery on their part seemed to have been utterly dissipated; so when there began to be rumors of a conspiracy among the Indians threatening the lives of the colonists and the destruction of their institutions, there was a widespread skepticism.

Powhatan died in 1618, about a year after the death of Pocahontas. But before his death he had abdicated in favor of his brother, Opitchapan, who is described as being "an old and inert man." He was soon deposed by Opechancanough. There is a tradition to the effect that this latter was not

really a brother of Powhatan, nor indeed a Virginian at all, but a mysterious and stalwart stranger from some southwestern country, who, by the sheer force of his own native ability, became the head of the federated tribes over which Powhatan had ruled.

We have already seen that Powhatan was being distressed over the fact that it seemed to him that the coming of the whites meant a contest for the lands of Virginia. Doubtless, in his view, it was inevitable that sooner or later a serious encounter must be had. the issue of which would be either that the whites would be driven into the sea, or the Indians pushed westward into the interior. But he was old and indisposed to hasten the encounter, and thought it to be wise for him and his people, as long as he lived, to be on amicable terms with the white settlers.

When Opechancanough became "Powhatan," he was a man in the meridian of his years, full of strength and daring. He did not fail to foresee or to prepare for the inevitable conflict. There is evidence that early in his reign he began to plan for the destruction of the white settlers of the Virginia Colony. It came to him that he might by one concerted, vigorous and sudden blow accomplish the destruction of the entire colony from Richmond to Hampton. In the most cunning, secret and patient way he gave himself to the accomplishment of this wicked and bloody task. With consummate diplomacy he brought tribe after tribe of the scattered Indians into the scheme and compact of war. For four patient years he devoted himself to the perfecting of his conspiracy and the maturing of his plan of campaign. In a most marvelous way the scattered hosts of savages were made ready for the delivering of the blow that should fall upon the unsuspecting and unprepared settlers as a bolt of lightning out of a clear sky.

In 1621 the King of the Eastern Shore Indians informed the English that on the occasion of the ceremony in taking up Powhatan's bones there was a very large gathering of Indians from the various tribes, and that at that time Opechancanough made a general plot to "set upon" every plantation in the colony. Governor George Yeardley, on receiving this information, went in person to every plantation and took an inventory of men and arms, and gave earnest instruction that they keep a strict watch upon their Indian neighbors. But Opechancanough protested that there was not a particle of truth in the rumor, and the English, not being able to discover any other proof, believed his statement to be true. After Governor Wyatt, the successor of Yeardley, entered upon his office, he sent a special message to the Indian chief to know about the chances of continued peace between them. The old chief sent word back that he was so deeply enamored of the peace existing between the settlers and his people that the skies should fall before he broke it. Furthermore, at his earnest request, the "words of peace" were stamped in brass and nailed to his favorite oak tree.

George Thorpe, superintendent of the college lands at Henrico, had always entertained a great interest in the Indians, and especially in the Indian chief. He built him a house, which greatly delighted the Indian emperor. "Thorpe first built him a fair house, in which he took much joy, especially with the lock and key." It is said that the old Indian chief was so bewitched with the mechanism of the lock and key that he would lock and unlock the door hundreds of times during the day, playing with it as a child would with a toy.

Thorpe having thus gained, as he believed, Opechancanough's good graces, he undertook to convert him to the Christian faith, and the old Indian showed great interest. "So as

he gave him a faire hearing and a good answer and both he and his people for the daily courtesies of the good gentleman, did promise such outward love and respect unto him as nothing could seeme more." The old chief evidently was willing to be converted if it would make more certain the chances of securing Thorpe's scalp.

In every ostensible way Opechancanough was the devoted friend and brother of the white man. He permitted no opportunity to pass without the expression of his undying friendship. White men who had been lost in the wilderness were furnished with guides back to the settlement. White prisoners who had been detained in the camps of the Indians were sent back bearing every possible token and expression of brotherly and neighborly regard. The very morning when the blow fell, Indians came into the various settlements bearing gifts of game and making protestations of cordial friendship. They accepted the hospitality of the Virginians and ate their morning meal at their tables. There was on the part of the white settlers no suspicion at all in the act. They had come so thoroughly to believe that the Indians were a subdued race that they would not tolerate the suggestion that they were capable of doing them any harm or hurt. An Indian named Nemattanow, and whom the settlers called "Jack of the Feather," murdered one of the colonists, and was immediately killed. Although this was not an altogether new sort of incident in the relations of the Indian and white man, the Indian emperor seized quickly upon it as an excuse for making trouble. He began immediately to fire the savage heart with the story of this particular outrage and of the wicked treatment that they were constantly receiving at the hands of the white men. He called them to the act of retaliation and to the defense of their homes, invaded by the Englishmen.

As though a mine had been planted, the explosion came on March 22, 1622, at the same hour of the day, all the way from Berkeley's plantation to Southampton's Hundred, on the Chesapeake Bay. "They fell upon the English and basely and barbarously murthered them, not sparing age or sex, man, woman or child. Being at their several works in the house and in the fields, planting corn and tobacco, gardening, making brick, building, sawing and other kinds of husbandry, so sudden was the cruel execution that few or none discerned the weapon or the blow that brought them to destruction."

Six members of the Council were killed. The reported list shows, however, only the names of four—George Thorpe, Captain Nathaniel Powell, John Berkeley and Samuel Macock. It is argued that the other two must have been John Rolfe and Michael Lapworth, as they unmistakably died about this time, and as the other members of the Council are all accounted for.

When the night of that dreadful day fell, three hundred and forty-seven persons had been slain. Of the twenty-four people at Falling Creek only a single boy and girl escaped. Around Henrico settlement more than eighty met their death. Indeed, one report declares that so many as a hundred and eighteen were killed at this place. George Thorpe, one of the most useful men in the colony, and one of the most devoted friends the Indians had, in spite of his warm interest in the old Indian emperor, and though warned by his servants, whom he refused to believe, was killed and his body shamefully mutilated by the savages. At Appomattox, Flower de Hundred, Macock, Westover, Powell's Brook and Martin-Brandon there was the same story of destruction and slaughter. In some instances settlers were able to defend their homes and to beat off their assailants. At Martin's

Hundred seventy-three were butchered. Very curious indeed is the report that near Martin's Hundred there was a small family who knew nothing of the massacre until after two days had passed. Not many were killed on the Eastern Shore, and this is attributed to the fact that the "laughing King" could not be induced to join in the "general combination against the English, which otherwise might have completed the ruin of the colony." This attitude of the "laughing King" kept from the Eastern Shore settlements Indians from remoter tribes. Save for the revelation of Chanco, the Indian convert at Jamestown, the slaughter would have been universal. He notified his master, for whom he had great affection and from whom he had received much kindness, that the blow was going to fall the next morning. The warning had come too late, however, to be widely circulated. Men were immediately sent out to warn the neighboring settlements, but there was not sufficient time for them to cover more than a circuit of five miles from Jamestown.

"That God had put it into the heart of the converted Indian to reveal the conspiracy by which means Jamestown and many colonists were preserved from their treacheries, was regarded as the most exquisite incident in the life of the colony. For more than three hundred of ours died by these pagan infidels, yet thousands of ours were saved by means of one of them alone which was made a Christian. Blessed be God forever Whose mercy endureth forever. Blessed be God Whose mercy is above His justice and far above His works; Who brought this deliverance whereby their souls escaped even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler."

Toward the late evening of that horrible day a single boat set out from Jamestown, under the command of the wise and good Governor Yeardley, to go as far as Flower de Hun-

dred, "trying to save such people who might have lain wounded."

At the time of the massacre it is said that there were two English ships anchored at Jamestown, one also anchored somewhere on the Pamunkey River. None aboard these ships were molested, neither were they in a position to be of any great service in the dreadful conflict of that day.

Immediately steps were taken to discover the extent of the damage inflicted and to safeguard the lives of those who had been spared in the scattered plantations. It was thought best to call in the settlers upon the out-lying plantations and establish them in the immediate neighborhood of Jamestown. The property of the various plantations having been destroyed, their cattle driven off, and foodstuffs stolen or burned, it was necessary that something be done immediately to procure subsistence for the settlers who remained. One of the English ships was immediately dispatched to the Barbadoes to secure supplies. This ship returned promptly later in the season, loaded with supplies, which made it reasonably certain that the colonists could pass through the ensuing winter safely.

Order having been restored, The Sea Flower, an English vessel then in port, was dispatched to England to bear the sorrowful tidings of the great disaster. The Governor and Council sent a special communication to the London Company, and letters were sent from Sir George Sandys the poet, George Harrison and others, telling of the massacre. Daniel Gookin went over with others especially to relate in person the story of the great disaster, "how whilst all their affairs were sure of success and such intercourse of families as if the Indians and themselves had been one nation, the treacherous nation, after five years of peace, by a general combination in one day plotted to subvert the whole colony and at

one instant of time, though our several plantations were one hundred and forty miles up one river and on both sides." In their communication to the company the Governor and Council related what they had already tried to do to safeguard the interests of the colony, what things they had in mind to perform, and what requests they desired to make upon the company. It was stated in this communication that their conviction was that the main settlement had better be removed from Jamestown to some other place that might be more easily and more strongly fortified. They asked that they would send them especially an engineer and some provisions and a supply of implements of war, "all which being specially done, the plantation will suddenly be in a far more safer, happier and flourishing estate than ever it was before."

The company's answer to this communication was an expression of sympathy and a cheerful word of encouragement, coupled with advice as to their future treatment of the Indians and with the promise of the needed supplies and support. "The calamities that have befallen do much grieve, but do no whit daunt us for we see no danger but rather advantage to be met thereby as we cannot but think the seeding of this blood will be the seed of the plantation for the addition of price hath much endeared the purchase."

It was advised that the armor furnished by the King should be made the beginning of a public armory to the colony as a perpetual testimony of His Majesty's royal bounty and favor. The fact that a part of this armor sent by His Majesty's royal favor was out of date and unusable in any serious conflict, and that the barrels of powder sent by the King's favor were not a gift, but a loan, must have taken the unction out of this exhortation from the London Company. Captain John Smith, then residing in England, of-

fered to go over to Virginia and subdue the Indians, but the London Company did not accept of his offer.

If the Indians imagined that on account of the long delay there was to be no retaliation on the part of the English, their minds were destined to be most cruelly disabused. The delay had been caused by the wise effort to protect themselves from further attack and to make provision against the coming winter. But when these things were accomplished, most serious preparations were made for inflicting punishment upon the savages for their treachery and barbarity.

Sir George Yeardley was placed in charge of the campaign as the commanding officer of the English forces. "George Sandys fell upon the Tappahatonaks, opposite Jamestown, in several expeditions. Sir George Yeardley fell upon the Wyanottes, Captain Powell fell upon the Chickahominies, and Captain John West sought out the Tanx-Powhatans." Everywhere the Indians fled before the English. There were really not so many slaughtered as might have been imagined, but their homes were destroyed and their property confiscated. It was determined by the end of August to make war upon Opechancanough with five hundred men, "hoping by God's help this winter to clear the country of him and so set the colony in a far better estate than it was ever before." "And thus the massacre will result in the speedy advancement of the colony and much to the benefit of all those who shall hereafter come thither.'

In the fall Yeardley went down the river and drove out the Nansemondas and the Warrasskoyacks. He drove them from their homes and captured their corn. He returned up the river by way of Kiccowtan and then went up the Pamunkey to the chief seat of Opechancanough.

These warlike expeditions continued from time to time until peace was established in 1632.

It was a cruel massacre; and it was a long and cruel retaliation. It was easy enough for the Englishmen in their comfortable homes in England to complain that this retaliation was filled unnecessarily with cruelty and wrong. They, in a comfortable environment, were dealing with a theory; the white settlers of Virginia were facing dreadful conditions. And when we look back across the lapse of three centuries, the conflict seems to have been inevitable and the retaliation inexorably necessary.

Among the disastrous results in the colony was the postponement of enterprises that had been launched with great enthusiasm. Cherished plans with reference to the establishment of an educational institution at Henrico were being rapidly realized, and if there could have been a few more years of prosperity and peace, the institution would doubtless have been founded upon a substantial basis. But the massacre seemed almost to have utterly dissipated all plans in that direction. It is true that the London Company sent over a successor to Mr. Thorpe, but do what he might, he found it impossible to stimulate any interest in the enterprise which the people had once been so enthusiastic about. Not until the founding of William and Mary College was there realized anything like the early anticipations and plans of the settlers with regard to an institution of learning. And even then more thought was had for the education of their own sons than of the children of the aborigines.

And so, too, the early zeal in connection with the conversion of the Indian to Christianity died out after the massacre. Some years before the Reverend Jonas Stockton had declared it to be his conviction that it was useless to undertake to convert the Indian until priests and ancients were put to the sword. There were very many now who looked upon this utterance as being wise and true. The truth is, except

in rare instances, their main thought of the Indian was to be rid of him at the earliest possible moment. And while there were individual instances where the old zeal for the conversion of the Indian remained, it could not be said that there was any general interest in the matter of his evangelization.

There were, likewise, unfortunate delays in the industrial development of the community. The ironworks at Falling Creek, under the superintendence of Mr. Berkeley, were abandoned, when there was every promise that they might be worked successfully. At various times efforts were made to rehabilitate the works, but never was there any chance of such success as was promised at the time of the massacre.

In other respects, doubtless, the massacre had a wholesome influence upon the settlers. They learned the lesson of interdependence. They were made to feel that the dangers to which they were liable were common dangers, and that they must stand together if their lives and property were to be safeguarded. It can scarcely be doubted but that there was a solidarity among the settlers after the massacre that never existed before.

The most astounding phase of the whole transaction is that the colonists were so little discouraged. While there were propositions that Jamestown be removed to a locality more easily fortified, there were no suggestions that the whole enterprise of colonization be given over. With extraordinary courage they set themselves to that rearrangement and readaptation that should guarantee more surely their future.

The communication which was sent to the London Company disclosing the tidings of the dreadful massacre had the ring of high hope and of dauntless courage, and in answer the brave Englishmen of the London Company reached across the seas and grasped the hands of their brothers on

the western shores in a new pledge and covenant of loyalty and devotion in the establishment of American colonization. Some one has said that it was the John Bull in the Englishmen that inspired the great movement, and it was the John Bull that maintained it and brought it to successful realization.

Except in one or two other separated events, the Indians of Virginia were rarely aggressive in forcing any conflict upon the settlers. For a score of years, in the main, the English settlers were the aggressors in every conflict.

Opechancanough was still alive in 1644. He was now nearly one hundred years old, and had lost the vigor and strength of his early manhood. So wasted had he become that he could not open his eyes, and had to be carried about upon a litter. And yet the old man's recollection of the past was bitter and his spirit vengeful. His courage remained undaunted to the last, and the long brooding over the treatment his people had received at the hands of the English settlers led him to one last desperate resolution to make war again on the English. Whatever could have induced the old chief to believe that there was any chance of success no one could imagine. It was reported, however, that he had been told of the civil war then in progress in England, and that now was the time or never to root out Englishmen. It is further sought to explain the action of the old chief by suggesting as a ground for it the fact that Sir John Harvey was encroaching upon the territory set apart for the Indians. It is to be doubted whether either of these had any influence at all upon the old man. It looks very much as though it was an instance of that vengeful spirit of the savage that remembered everything and forgot nothing that had to do with any injury endured and suffered. However it was, he suddenly threw himself upon the settlers along the upper

banks of the York and Pamunkey Rivers, and before the English could rally their forces nearly three hundred of the settlers were slaughtered. Berkeley, who was then at the head of affairs at Jamestown, got together a body of horsemen and marched rapidly to the scene and routed the Indians at every point and captured the old chief. He was carried on his litter to Jamestown. It was said that it was the purpose of Berkeley to transport him to England, but this indignity was spared the old chief. The fire of his anger burned fiercely until the very last. The crowds gathering around him and staring curiously at him greatly offended his sense of propriety and dignity, and he cried out to Berkeley that if it had been his fortune to take Sir William Berkeley prisoner, he would have disdained to make "a show of him." Soon afterwards he was shot in the back by some one having charge of him, doubtless to avenge some personal spite. He died of this wound, and thus passed away the most relentless as well as the most able enemy of the settlers among the aborigines. And doubtless with him passed away every reasonable hope among the Indians that they should ever be able to regain the land from which they had been driven by these first English settlers in the wilderness of the new continent. By the time of Bacon's Rebellion the Indians were practically driven from Tidewater Virginia, and as the settlements moved westward the Indians were likewise pushed back. So far as Virginia is concerned, the Indians made their last stand at Point Pleasant, on the Ohio River, in 1774, of which something will be said in a subsequent chapter. To-day the Virginia Indians are represented by a small handful of the Pamunkey tribe residing on Indian Neck, in King William county.

CHAPTER XIV.

PLANTING THE CHURCH IN THE WILDERNESS.

In our study of the reasons for colonization the religious motive was seen to have prevailed with varying degrees of intensity. In the charter granted to the London Company it was said "so noble a work might, by the Providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of His Divine Majesty by propagating the Christian religion to such people as yet live in darkness," and a royal ordinance was added "that the word and the service of God should be preached, planted and used not only in said colonies, but as much as might be among the savages bordering among them according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England."

The religious idea was present in much of the planning of the company with reference to the welfare of the colonists. In all their discussions there was in evidence a most pious purpose and an earnest desire to have Divine guidance and assistance in their effort to plant a church in the wilderness. In keeping with this spirit it was provided, in 1621, that there should be an annual sermon before the general court. In November of that year a note was addressed to the deputy treasurer and the rest of the company, sent by an unknown friend, which reads as follows:

"You shall receive here enclosed forty shillings for a sermon to be preached before the Virginia Company this Michaelmas term and before the quarter court day. The place I leave to your company's appointment. Also I desire that

Mr. Davenport may preach the first sermon of the company's appointment. I will, if God permit, make a perpetuity of this kind; so beseeching your good acceptance of this small mite and also that you, Mr. Deputy, perform your promise in concealing my name, I take my leave and rest, as daily.

(Signed) "ORATOR FOR VIRGINIA."

The offer was accepted, and Mr. Davenport preached the first annual sermon before the company in 1621. It is worth while to note in passing that this same Mr. Davenport became one of the leading pastors of the Puritans in New England, and served the church at New Haven, Connecticut.

The following year it was agreed that the dean of St. Paul's should preach the sermon. St. Michael's Church, in Cornhill, was appointed as the place. It was also agreed that after the sermon a supper should be served as had been done the year before. John Dunn, who was the dean of St. Paul's, preached the sermon, which evidently was one of great power. He exhorted, "Be you a light to the Gentiles that sat in darkness! Be you content to carry Him over the seas who dried up one Red Sea for His faithful people and hath poured out another Red Sea, His own blood for them and us! Preach to them doctrinally, preach to them practically. Enamour them with your justice and your stability but inflame them with your Godliness and religion."

On account of factions that were developed in the company, and on account of the troubles with King James, it was thought best to omit the annual sermon of 1623, although the offer from the unknown friend was repeated.

There is evidence that even the adventurers who had come to the American continent before Jamestown was established, were actuated in many instances by very high purpose to extend the church. Hariot, in his account of his experiences

when he came over to Roanoke Island, said: "Many times, and in every town where I came, according as I was able to, I made declarations of the contents of the Bible that therein was set forth the true and only God and His mighty works, and therein was contained the true doctrine of salvation through Christ, with many particularities of miracles and chief points of religion as I was then able to utter and thought fit for the time."

It ought to be remembered, to the credit of Lord Raleigh's memory, that when he surrendered to the company the charter that he had received from the Queen, he accompanied the transfer with a donation of one hundred pounds "for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia"—"the first offering" (said Mr. Anderson, in his "Colonial Church History,"), "as far as I can learn, avowedly made by Englishmen for such a purpose."

Mr. Hakluyt declared that he was interested in colonization "for the glory of God and the saving of the souls of poor and blinded infidels."

It seems, however, that the work of the company in this direction was entirely apart and separate from ecclesiastical authorities and the sanction of the Church of England. There is no evidence that the church, as such, at the beginning of this colonization movement, authorized or set on foot any agencies looking to the religious welfare of the colonists or to the evangelization of the aborigines. The selection and sending out of ministers seems to have been left entirely to the London Company. Their appointments of ministers were usually made after commendation by some one of their own number, and after "the committee" was satisfied with the character and fitness of the minister. It was their custom to have preached before them trial sermons so that there might be a practical demonstration of a minister's ability to preach.

In December, 1620, Captain Roger Smith was about to sail with a party. It was moved "in behalf of a young scholar desirous to go with him this present voyage, that he might be admitted to preach to the people now sent." The committee agreed "hereafter to give him a text to preach from a fortnight hence, in the handling whereof if they found him a successful scholar he should be entertained accordingly." This seems not to have been unusual, for the following year a Mr. Leat, who had been preaching in Newfoundland, wanted to go to the Virginia plantations, and was commended by a prominent merchant of London. "He would put the company to no charge except for necessaries and such books as would be useful to him, which request the company thought very reasonable and referred him to the general committee to be treated, and concluded with touching some moderate allowances to be bestowed upon him." He likewise was required to preach a trial sermon from a text selected by the company, "ninth of Isaiah, second verse."

There is an interesting record of a Mr. Bolton, recommended by the Earl of Southampton as a minister "for his honesty and sufficiency in learning, fit for a vacant place in Virginia." Mr. Bolton became the first minister on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Concerning him there is a record in the minutes of the Council as follows:

"Whereas it is ordered by the Governor and Council that Mr. Bolton, minister, shall receive for his salary this year throughout, of the plantations of the Eastern Shore, ten pounds of tobacco and one bushel of corn for every planter and tradesman above sixteen years, alive at the crop." Captain Williams was to execute this warrant and see that the minister's salary was raised.

From these quotations there is plainly borne out the statement that the first ministers who came to the Virginia

plantations were sent out under the sole direction of the London Company. Among those who first came as ministers were several men distinguished for their scholarly culture and for their genuine piety and thorough unselfishness. There came with the first group of settlers the Rev. Mr. Hunt, of a most sainted and blessed memory. Mr. Anderson, in his "Church History," speaks of him on this wise:

"And with it sailed the first English minister who exercised the cure of souls upon those shores. The course of Robert Hunt was short, and the notices of him were few, but they leave an impression that the first English pastor in America was a man of genuine piety, simplicity and love. By him, after the reconciling of much dissention, the first communion was celebrated, and under his care the House of Prayer was one of the first buildings that marked the site of Jamestown." When he died, falling at his post in the terrible epidemic that came upon the settlers during the first summer, even the hardened soldiers said of him: "His soul questionless is with God. An honest, religious and courageous divine, during whose life our factions were often qualified and our wants and greatest extremities so comforted that they seem easy in comparison with what we endured after his memorable death." The memory of this pure and unselfish minister of the New Testament will forever hallow and sanctify the lonely island where his ashes lie buried, unmarked, and from which is lifted as yet no monument upon which the children of after generations may read the story of his simple faith and devotion.

The successor to Mr. Hunt at Jamestown was the Rev. Richard Buck, who came in the Sea Venture with the party that had been wrecked on the Bermudas. He found, on his arrival, in 1610, that the church building that had been erected by Mr. Hunt was well-nigh in ruins, and seemed to be in

disuse. The church was immediately renovated and repaired, and Mr. Buck took up the regular work of the church. "He was esteemed a very good preacher." It was he who opened with prayer the first Legislative Assembly. He died in the year 1623.

In 1610 there came a party from the Netherlands, under the direction of Sir Thomas Dale, and made a settlement near Henrico. The Rev. Alexander Whittaker came as the chaplain of his party. He was the son of a distinguished Puritan lecturer of Cambridge University. He was himself a graduate of Cambridge, and had been pastor for a number of years in north England. It seems that he had a competency of his own. His friends had no sympathy with his purpose to become a missionary in Virginia, and did what they could to dissuade him from carrying out this plan. Croshaw says of him: "He, without any persuasion but God and his own heart, did voluntarily leave his warm nest and to the wonder of his kinsmen and amazement of those who knew him, undertook this hardest, and in my judgment, heroic resolution to go to Virginia and help to bear the name of God to the Gentiles." He seems to have been a man of exceeding fine spirit and culture, and of very great consecration to his work. He was the author of a paper entitled "Good News From Virginia." It was an effort to stir up interest in Virginia as a field for missionary operations. It was a plain and brusque document in which he was at no pains to temper his thought and utterances. He alluded to the Indians as "naked slaves of the devil." He says that one of the reasons why good people should bestir themselves in zeal for religious work in the colony is that "the devil is a capital enemy against it and continually seeketh to hinder the prosperity and good proceeding of it." He made an especial appeal to the rich that they devote their means to the spread of the gospel in America, call-

ing attention to the great waste of money on the part of the rich. "Some make no scruple at it to spend yearly a hundred, two, three, five hundred pounds and much more upon dogs, hawks and hounds and such sports, which will not give five hundred pence to the relief of God's poor members. Others will not care to lose two or three thousand pounds in a night at cards and dice, and yet suffer poor Lazarus to perish in the street for want of their charitable alms."

Mr. Whittaker lived at Martin's Hundred, and was the devoted friend of Governor Dale, and with Sir Thomas was greatly interested in the conversion of Pocahontas. He it was who officiated at her baptism. Mr. Argall, in a letter to the Virginia Company, dated 9th of June, 1617, states that Mr. Whittaker was drowned, but gives no information as to the circumstances. By his wisdom, consecration and self-sacrifice he won for himself the title of "The Apostle of Virginia."

There is every evidence that at the outset the early settlers, supported by the London Company, took a very great interest in the religious life of the colony, and were really sincere in their purpose to evangelize the aborigines. Bishop Meade quoted in his "History of Old Churches and Families in Virginia" the following as the order of the day among the first settlers:

"The men were divided into groups who worked on alternate days. The gang for the day was thus delivered to the masters and overseers of the work appointed, who kept them at their labor until nine or ten o'clock, according to the season of the year, and then at the beat of the drum they were marched to the church, where they would hear some discourse or some service. After dinner they rested until two or three o'clock, and at the beat of the drum the captain drew them forth to be taken to their work until five or six o'clock, when,

at the beat of the drum, they were again marched to the church." Bishop Meade quoted a prayer which he said was probably written by Mr. Whittaker, a prayer for the morning and evening use of the watch or guard, to be offered up either by the captain himself or by one of his principal men or officers. The prayer closes in this way: "And here, O Lord, we do upon the knees of our hearts, offer Thee the sacrifice and praise and thanksgiving for that Thou hast moved our hearts to undertake the performance of Your blessed work with the hazard of our persons, and hath moved the hearts of so many hundreds of our natives to assist with means and provision and with their holy prayers. Lord, look mercifully upon them all and for that portion of their substance which they willingly offer for Thy honor and service in this action, recompense it to them and theirs and reward them sevenfold with blessings. Lord, bless England, our sweet, native country. Save it from popery; this land from heathenism, and both from atheism. And Lord, hear their prayers for us, us for them, and Christ Jesus, our glorious Master, for us all. Amen." It will be observed that this is not taken from the Book of Common Prayer. Bishop Meade calls attention to the fact that the fathers of the Episcopal Church in America did not feel themselves violating any canon of the church when they made use of other written or extemporaneous prayers.

For a number of years the clergymen of the Episcopal Church had very little to do in the management of church affairs. The vestry seems to have been the source of authority. Not until after the Revolution was there an American Episcopacy. Native American clergymen were obliged, after receiving their education in this country, to go to England to receive ordination. Bishop Meade may be quoted as saying, "The vestries were the depositories of power in Virginia. They not only governed the church, but the election of ministers,

the laying of taxes and the enforcing of the laws, and also made laws for the House of Burgesses." The tenure of office was very uncertain and depended upon the judgment and oftentimes the caprice of the vestrymen. In vain were appeals made by the clergymen to the Bishop of London that this state of things might be relieved and remedied, but there was no interference on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities in England with the regime into which the church had fallen in America. The vestries continued to call the pastors when it suited their pleasure, and to dismiss them, paying little regard either to the wishes of the people or the desires of the minister. Mr. Anderson, in his "History of Colonial Churches," gave this state of things as one of the reasons why the church made such slow progress in the colonies, that the right to govern itself had been surrendered to the State authorities. He may be quoted as saying, "For the want of this completeness of ecclesiastical organization no legal establishments, no endowments or salutes can ever compensate. The church must have in itself its own power of self-inspection and direction. It must have in it a voice whose authority it will respect, and demand that the world should respect as the expression of its own mind. Spoiled of its own proper means of action and centre of union, it must in process of time, lose its energy of spirit and dignity of character, and sink as the church of Virginia sank amidst its tithes of tobacco, its appointment by vestries, its visitation by commanders and its episcopacy of governors." Not until 1771 was there even proposed any organized movement looking to the establishment of an American episcopate. So varied were the views and so confused the times that it was impossible to arrive at any pronounced consensus of opinion and petition. So the whole matter was held in abeyance until after the War of the Revolution.

Up to the close of the seventeenth century the Church of England presented the only outward and organized expression of the religious thought and life of the colony. With the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, influences that had long been more or less vaguely felt began to be crystallized into definite forms of church life, and from that time on until the close of the Revolutionary War, the Church of England was in decline in the colony of Virginia.

It will be interesting to trace the influences which were at work in the colonial life and which brought such disastrous results to the established church. The growth of democratic ideas had no little to do with the discouragement of such forms of religious life as were presented by the Church of England, and with the encouragement of freer and more independent forms as expressed in the faith and the purposes of numerous dissenting bodies. The spirit of the day was the spirit of democracy, seeking everywhere emancipation from old forms and organizations and interpretation in simpler forms and freer life. With little trouble it might be proven that political tendencies find expression not only in civic institutions, but also in ecclesiastical organisms. And so it was the same spirit that fought against the idea of the divine right of Kings that clamored also for a freer democracy in church life and forms. The contention of the nonconformists and dissenters appealed, therefore, strongly to the spirit of the times, and found a congenial atmosphere for the propagation of its faith and life.

To the influence of the Puritan must also be traced the beginnings of the decadence of the Church of England as a religious form and power in the life of the colony. The influence of the Puritan was subtle and pervasive. The presence of the Puritan idea can be discovered at a much earlier

date than is commonly supposed. Attention has already been called to the fact that the London Company was arrogating to itself large liberty in the sending of clergymen to the colonies. The Rev. Mr. Whittaker, of whom we have already spoken, was the son of a distinguished Puritan lecturer at Cambridge, and there is evidence that he inherited some of the spirit of his non-conformist father. In the prayer above quoted, and which is attributed to his authorship, there is an indication that he was not unwilling, when exigencies required, to depart from the usual forms of the church. Sir Edwin Sandys, who became the ruling spirit of the London Company upon its reorganization in 1619, was the son of the archbishop, who was not unwilling to say of the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England: "I have ever been and am presently persuaded that some of them be not so expedient in this Church now but that, the Church reformed and in all this time of the Gospel (wherein the seed of the Scripture hath so long been sown), they may be better disused by little and little than more and more urged." Mr. Neil, in his "English Colonization of America," quoting the above statement, adds the following: "The son of such a father was not the man to press for a literal conformity to ecclesiastical canons, and was ready to encourage any sincere minister of Christ to take up his abode in Virginia."

The extent of this Puritan influence is further illustrated in the work and life of the Bennetts, of whom there were several. In the year 1621 a Mr. Edwin Bennett, an influential citizen of London (who had been made, on motion of Sir Edwin Sandys, a free member of the Virginia Company, on account of services he had rendered in promoting the interests of the colony, and especially on account of the paper which he had submitted to the House of Commons urging the prohibition of Spanish tobacco), made a settlement near

Bruton Church, Williamsburg.

Rebuilt 1715. The Oldest Church building now in use in America.

the Isle of Wight. This settlement was made on the Nansemond River. The minister accompanying that colony was the Rev. William Bennett. He remained for two years only. He was succeeded by Rev. Henry Jacob, who had been in his youth a preceptor at Christ Church College, at Oxford, had spent some time visiting Leyden and had really been converted to the faith of the Puritans, and who, on his return, established the first independent church in England. He died after a brief residence in Virginia.

To this group of ministers laboring in the Nansemond settlement was added Rev. Richard Bennett, a nephew of Edwin Bennett. In connection with these ministers also labored the Rev. Thomas Harrison, who was at first a member of the Established Church and the chaplain of Lord Berkeley, by whom, on account of his dissenting views, he was finally expelled from the colony. The settlement at Nansemond became the great centre of the dissenting idea, and was most influential in the propagating of the views of the dissenters and non-conformists.

There is evidence that the clergymen took considerable liberty in their use of the liturgy of the church, feeling free to make departures therefrom when occasion seemed to require. There were present in the church from the beginning men without orders, who were allowed no small place in the service and work of the church. It even happened that the vestries who had every authority in this matter, selected only lay readers to conduct the forms of worship rather than to be at the expense of securing men having orders. Were time permitted us, there could be numerous citations by which could be proven that early in the history of the colony, and maintaining itself steadily, was the spirit of the Puritan, eager to throw off elaborate forms of ceremonies and to take upon itself simple forms of faith and service; so by the time

the church was seriously assaulted by the growing influence of the dissenters, the people had in one way or another been prepared for a rather easy transition from the more elaborate to the simpler forms of church life and expression.

Nor can it be forgotten that the very persecution heaped with increasing bitterness upon the dissenters as they seemed to multiply in numbers and in influence, must have rebounded to the hurt and injury of the Church of England. The intolerant spirit of the royalists and the conformists showed itself early in the acts of the General Assembly. It will be recalled that early in the history of the colony, by formal action, the Church of England became the established church of the colonists, and the support of, and the attendance upon, whose service was a matter of duty laid vigorously upon every member of the colony. These early acts, however, were not passed with reference to any other forms of religion, because at the outset none of these forms were present in the colony. In the acts of 1661 it was provided that ministers must be ordained by a bishop in England, and that all other preachers were to be banished. Every person who refused attendance at the parish church for one Sunday was to forfeit the payment of fifty pounds of tobacco. Every non-conformist was to be fined twenty pounds for a month's absence, and if he failed for a year to put in his appearance at the service of the church, he was to be arrested and made to give security for his future good behavior, or in lieu thereof to remain in prison until he was willing to come to church.

In "Hening's Statutes" there is recorded the one hundred and eleventh act of the Grand Assembly of 1661-'62, which is as follows:

"Whereas many schismatical persons out of averseness to the orthodox established religion, or out of many new

fangled conceits of their own heretical invention, refuse to have their children baptized, be it therefore enacted by the authorities aforesaid that all persons in contempt of the divine sacrament of baptism, which refuse when they may carry their child to a lawful minister in that county to have them baptized, shall be amerced two thousand pounds of tobacco, half to the informer and half to the public."

Every historian has a story of the persecutions heaped upon the dissenters. Mr. White tells a story of a band of men who were driven from Virginia for their religious opinions in 1634. Mr. Burke tells of the savage barbarities inflicted upon Stephenson Reek in 1640. He was forced "to stand in the pillory two hours with a label on his back, pay a fine of fifty pounds, and was in prison at the pleasure of the Governor, for simply saying in a jocular manner that "His Majesty was at confession with my Lord Canterbury." And so the dreadful story goes. Mr. James Madison corroborated it all in a very strong statement that he made in writing to a Philadelphia friend in 1774: "That diabolical hell-conceived principle of persecution raged among them, and to their eternal infamy the clergymen can furnish their quota of imps for such purposes. There are at the present time in the adjacent county not less than five or six well-meaning men in close jail for proclaiming their religious sentiments, which are in the main quite orthodox." It was inevitable but that the church, in the minds of the people supposed to be back of and authorizing these persecutions, should come into common disrepute at a time when people were loving liberty so ardently.

Nor can it be doubted but that the worldliness that pervaded the church had much to do with its decline and disfavor. Not only were the lives of the members of the church in flagrant contradiction and defiance of the vows they

had taken upon themselves, but in many instances even the ministers had fallen into lives of thorough disrepute.

The people in the first half of the eighteenth century were living in the enjoyment of exceeding prosperity and liberty, and restraints were thrown off and the life of the colony was expressing itself in great religious indifference on the one hand, and on the other hand in glaring immoralities.

In 1719 complaint of this condition of things had been made to the Bishop of London, who instituted an investigation, but there was returned to him the answer that no member of the investigating body had "any personal knowledge of the irregularities of any clergyman's life." Good Bishop Meade does not hesitate to call attention to the fact that the phrase "personal knowledge" was in all probability a sheer evasion. There is much proof that the clergymen, along with the members of their parish, played cards, hunted the fox and indulged in drink. Such courses were not looked upon in those days with any more favor than they are at the present time. Mr. John Esten Cooke added most sensibly this sentence: "What was even worse, they had no small love for their neighbors, the dissenters."

The influence, however, that produced the most acute and positive deflection from the Church of England was that of the revival movements under Whitefield and Methodism. In 1740 George Whitefield, who had been educated at Oxford, and between whom and John Wesley a strong friendship sprang up, began with Mr. Wesley the great revival movement that was destined to sweep over both continents. He was ordained a deacon, and soon became a famous preacher. A year after his ordination he came to Georgia with his friend Wesley, at the invitation of General Oglethorpe, to convert the Indians. His first visit to America

was short. It was on his second visit that he set afoot those tremendous revival influences that so mightily stirred the religious life of our people. And under the influences of this great movement there was a great turning of the people toward the churches, and, in the main, toward the churches of the dissenters, and in the tide was borne many who had for years been identified with the Church of England.

The deflection from the established church was so great, and the growth of dissenting bodies so rapid, that at the time of the Revolution two-thirds of the population were members of the dissenting churches, mainly of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Quaker denominations. It would be profitable and interesting to trace the movements of these independent bodies and to record the splendid work they did in the way of evangelization and reformation, especially in their struggles for religious liberty, and the large part they played in bringing about the War of the Revolution and in carrying it to successful issue, but the limits of this chapter forbid any such elaborate treatment.

Out of the religious confusion and strife of these years there is this great satisfaction, that it was doubtless due to these conflicts that the great boon of religious liberty was achieved. There could be but one end to the ecclesiastical struggle, as there could be but one end to the long struggle for political freedom. It was from the outset in both cases a foregone and inevitable conclusion that the people and democracy should ultimately triumph. No people living in the enjoyment of political freedom will long tolerate interference from any source, especially in that particular where men feel they should be most free. Nor could it be possible for people to live in the enjoyment of religious freedom without soon insisting upon the same prerogative in political life.

At the close of the Revolution steps were taken to secure

an American episcopacy, and in the year 1785 the Rev. Dr. White, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Dr. Provost, of New York, were sent over to England and received at the hands of England's ecclesiastical authorities apostolic ordination, so that the apostolic succession so much valued by the Episcopal Church was secured for the church henceforth to be maintained under American auspices. The Bishop of London had always had the supervision of the clergy of Virginia, this colony being a part of the London diocese, but in 1790 James Madison, the president of William and Mary College, went to London and was consecrated as Bishop of Virginia. Thus the established church passed into the Episcopal Church of Virginia in its religious organization. In its secular relations it was no longer a part of the State, having been partially disestablished in 1776, and totally disestablished in 1785. It now took its place along with the various dissenting bodies, which had been growing into influence in the middle of the eighteenth century on account of the incoming of the Scotch-Irish and Quakers, and the growth of the Baptists and the revivals of the followers of Whitefield and the Wesleys.

Let it never be forgotten that it was to the Church of England on the new continent, and to the faithful men who wore its orders that we are indebted for the pronounced religious tone and influence that attended the beginnings of our national life.

CHAPTER XV.

VIRGINIA UNDER CHARLES I. AND CROMWELLS.

The story of the vicissitudes of Virginia's growth and development is one of intense interest. In the previous chapters has been given an account of the beginning of colonization, of trade, of labor problems and the introduction of slavery, of education, of legislation and of home-building. Firm were the foundations laid during the period of the London Company, to which due credit has not always been given, because at times its management of the infant colony was devoid of business sense and its policy often short-sighted. But viewed from many standpoints this company stood for the best political thought of England, which was just beginning to clamor for the rights of the individual and the common people as opposed to the divine-right theory of James Stuart. The mantle of the London Company, after its abolition by the quo warranto proceedings of the King, fell upon the colonists themselves, and very worthily did they maintain in a conservative way their rights as English subjects, and with it all a spirit of loyalty to the English crown. The Virginians of the seventeenth century believed that they were entitled to certain legal rights, and with all due respect to the King they insisted that these rights should be recognized.

Having secured a legislative Assembly during the days of the London Company, they insisted after the abolition of the company on the continuation of their Assembly. Charles I. granted their request and Virginia continued to grow, gov-

erned by laws chiefly of their own making. The early days of Virginia as a royal province saw two excellent Governors. Sir Francis Wyatt and Sir George Yeardley, the latter for his third time in office. These men were adherents of the liberal party of the London Company, often designated as the faction of Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton. Hence, so far as the colony itself was concerned, the inhabitants saw no difference in its management. By the time of the death of Yeardley, in 1627, its population had reached five thousand souls, distributed among eighteen plantations, chiefly along the banks of the James River. With the death of Yeardley came a succession of Governors who added nothing to the development of Virginia. The first was Francis West, a gentleman of noble birth and brother to Lord Delaware, who had saved the colony in 1610. He was followed in a few months by Dr. John Pott, probably a physician, though according to the old reports he was a man widely read in the literature of the Hebrews, the Greeks and the Romans. In the annals of Virginia history his name will always be remembered, because after he had been removed as Governor he was accused of cattle stealing and tried before the Virginia Council, then the supreme court of the colony as well as the upper house of the General Assembly, and was declared guilty. John Harvey, who had superseded Pott as Governor, suspended the sentence, and, on petition to the King, the case was referred to the commissioners of Virginia, who declared that the "condemning Pott of felony was very rigorous, if not erroneous." So there seemed some grounds for the belief that the learned doctor had been dealt with unjustly, but in spite of the decision of the commissioners, history has branded him as a cattle thief.

When Sir John Harvey became Governor in 1630, a new era of expansion began in the colony. Already there were

thirty settlements along the James River, but in this year the first real settlement on the south side of the York River, about twenty-seven miles below the juncture of the Mattapony and the Pamunkey Rivers, was formed, and two years later another settlement on the same river was made. About this same time William Claiborne, an English gentleman who had come to Virginia in 1621 as surveyor of the plantations, planted a colony on Kent Island, in the Chesapeake Bay, and Middle Plantation, afterwards Williamsburg, was laid out and a line of palisades from "tidewater to tidewater" were constructed.

Students of Virginia history have frequently forgot the fact that the London Company did not go out of existence without a protest. Many of its members lived for thirty or forty years longer. A large number of them were members of the British Parliament, in which body they fought against the action of Charles I. in trying to collect taxes without the consent of Parliament. They forced Charles to approve, in 1628, the famous Petition of Right, acknowledging that the right of taxation lay in the hands of Parliament. And worthy to be remembered here is the fact that the words of protest in the Petition of Right relating to taxation were almost identically those which had been embodied in a resolution of the Virginia Assembly in 1623-'24. This same liberal element even conceived of the plan of reviving the London Company. The leaders of this movement were Sir Edward Sackville and George Sandys. The latter will be remembered as the treasurer of the colony of Virginia, which position he held from 1621 to 1628, and during which time he translated at Jamestown into English verse the "Metamorphoses" of Ovid.

Sir John Harvey, the Governor, was not of this liberal party; therefore he tried in Virginia to imitate his master in England, the King—namely, to raise taxes without the consent of the Virginia Assembly. But as had been done in 1624,

the Assembly again, in 1632, declared that no taxes should be raised save by its authority. At the head of the opposition to Harvey stood William Claiborne, now Secretary of State for the Colony of Virginia, having been appointed to that position by Charles I. in 1625. Because of his opposition he was finally removed from his office by the Governor. Politics "ran high," and the colonists were divided into Harveyites and anti-Harveyites. Some asked for the removal of the Governor, while the others believed in his policy. By some he was painted as extortionate, unjust and arbitrary, while others regarded him as a "grafter," claiming that he had granted lands for a consideration, while others went so far as to assert that he was a thief and used the public revenue as his own private property. Finally, in 1635, Harvey made a blunder by suppressing an address to the King from the Assembly on the question of the tobacco trade. If there was one thing dear to the hearts of Virginians it was the hope of having a monopoly on all tobacco shipped into England. So, by suppressing this petition, the Governor lost the support of many who had previously been his adherents. The anti-Harveyites now predominated, and, behold, the people of Virginia rose up and demanded that Harvey should be removed as Governor. Some of the leaders, at the instigation of Harvey, were arrested. But the Council refused, in its capacity as the supreme court, to try the prisoners. The Governor then accused one of the councilors of high treason, whereupon the Council arrested him and kept him in confinement. This same body immediately called an Assembly which met at Jamestown, ratified the action of the Council, put Harvey aboard a ship and sent him to England in custody of two members of the House of Burgesses. The action of the Council was briefly recorded as follows: "On the 28th of April, 1635, Sir John Harvey thrust out of his Government and Captain John

West acts as Governor until the King's pleasure known." No one has painted for us Charles I when he received the news of the action of the Virginia Council and Assembly, but no doubt he was greatly enraged to think that the people of so insignificant a country would dare to remove from office a man appointed under a royal commission. It is reported, however, that he declared it an act of regal authority, caused the two Burgesses who carried Harvey to England to be arrested, and summoned the members of the Council who had been unfriendly to Harvey to appear in England to answer for their crimes. Moreover, to the chagrin of the Virginians, Charles I. reappointed Harvey as Governor, in order that the removal of one of his appointees might not be regarded as a precedent.

For four years Sir John continued as Governor of Virginia, but his life was not a pleasant one. In the meantime the affairs of England were rapidly approaching a crisis. The realm was racked and torn by a struggle between the supporters of the King, known as "Cavaliers," and the opponents of the King, who soon came to be known as "Roundheads." The question was whether the King should lay the taxes or the people—whether a privileged class or the common people should rule England. In some respects it was a question of aristocracy as opposed to democracy. In so far as English conditions affected Virginia, the situation was this: Among the opponents of the King were arrayed those old members of the London Company who were demanding the restoration of their charter. To this the King would not consent, but he was so far moved by their strength that he consented, in 1639, to remove Harvey, and appointed as Governor Sir Francis Wyatt, the same gentleman who had been a follower of Sir Edwin Sandys and the Earl of Southampton, and who, along with Yeardley, had ruled in Virginia so acceptably; and,

strange to say, so anxious was the King to conciliate this public feeling that he gave instructions in his own handwriting that Captain West, of the Council, who had been the chief advocate for the removal of Harvey, and who had acted as Governor at the time that Harvey was transported from the colony, should be appointed Master General of the colony.

Governor Wyatt at once called Harvey to account for his abuses of power in Virginia. The property which Harvey had got together by means fair and foul was seized to satisfy his numerous creditors. An effort was made by the General Assembly for the restoration of the charter of the London Company, and George Sandys was appointed as general agent of the colony in England, and petitions were forwarded to England which were interpreted by George Sandys as advocating, on the part of the colony, the restoration of the London Company. He made an appeal to Parliament in 1640, and actually secured the passage of a resolution authorizing the revival of the patent rights of the London Company of Virginia. This action was more than Charles I. was willing to accept, and in spite of the fact that the cloud of rebellion was hovering over England, he took enough interest in the affairs of Virginia to remove Sir Francis Wyatt and appointed Sir William Berkeley as Governor.

Governor Berkeley arrived in the colony in January, 1642, and immediately called an Assembly, which petitioned the King protesting against the action of George Sandys in trying to secure the restoration of the company. It is interesting to note that this document, though signed by the Council and Burgesses, as well as by Governor Berkeley himself, in its preamble alludes to the fact that the sentiment in Virginia on this question was greatly changed. As a matter of fact, the Virginia people wished to rule themselves, but they were not in full accord with the rebellious attitude of the English

Parliament towards its sovereign. They looked askance at a movement fostered and cherished chiefly by the English conformists, for the people of Virginia, though containing a sprinkling here and there of opponents to the established church, believed on the whole in the episcopacy. Moreover, many Cavaliers were coming at this period into the colony, and were willing to lend their moral support to the King as the head of church and state.

During eight years Berkeley remained as Governor. These were the years of the civil war in England. Charles was taken prisoner and beheaded. The war having ended disastrously to the side of the King, the Cavalier element continued to come in even greater numbers to America, settling in Virginia, which, as the struggle between the King and Parliament continued, had increased in sympathy for the royal cause. On the execution of Charles I. Sir William Berkeley denounced the whole proceedings as a cold blooded murder, while the General Assembly passed an act declaring that all who had taken part against the King or who should defend such action should be regarded as guilty of treason, and that any one who even doubted the right of his son, Charles II., to be recognized as King should also be regarded as a traitor.

Parliament was not slow in turning its eyes towards the colony that was loyal to the English crown. In 1650 it adopted an ordinance prohibiting trade with the rebellious colony of Virginia, and at once the council of state took measures to reduce it to submission. One of the first acts of the English Parliament was a navigation act, passed in October, 1651, which limited the trade of all the colonies to England, and thus cut out from Virginia many Dutch vessels. Following this Parliament ordered a squadron to be got ready and sent to subdue the loyalists of Virginia. The expedition was commanded by Captain Robert Dennis. Richard Bennett,

William Claiborne and Thomas Stegge were appointed commissioners, along with Dennis, to arrange to subdue the recalcitrant colony. Bennett belonged to the Puritan faction of Virginia, which was strong in Nansemond county. Claiborne, of whom we will hear more later, was a member of Governor Berkeley's council, but was not friendly with the Governor. Captain Stegge sailed with the expedition under Captain Dennis. Both were lost in the storm, and the command devolved upon Captain Curtis. In January, 1652, the expedition reached Virginia, and it was probably at this time that Claiborne and Bennett learned of their appointment to serve as commissioners.

We are told that old Berkeley, game cock that he was, on seeing the approach of the English force called out the militia of the colony, at that time twelve hundred strong, and persuaded some Dutch vessels, then in English waters, to arm themselves for resistance. These vessels had no right, under the navigation act, to be in Virginia waters, and were liable to be seized and confiscated by the English government. We are told that every preparation was made for resistance at Jamestown, but before any shots were passed a party from the British force came ashore and proceeded to ask for negotiations. The commissioners, on the arrival of the English force, had not gone at once to Jamestown, but had first issued a proclamation, which was sent to various parts of the colony, stating that their purpose was not to make war, but only to ask that the people of Virginia should recognize the Commonwealth in England. This proclamation had its effect, and when the party for negotiation landed at Jamestown, though Berkeley had troops and vessels ready for fight, the commissioners had no difficulty in persuading the Council and Burgesses to recognize parliamentary government and to promise to pass no statute contrary to the laws of England. Articles of sur-

render were drawn up between the Commonwealth of England, represented by Bennett, Curtis and Claiborne, and Virginia, represented by the Grand Assembly of the Governor, Council and Burgesses of Virginia. It was in reality more of a treaty than a surrender, for the commissioners agreed that the General Assemly should transact the affairs of Virginia, and that the Commonwealth of England should acknowledge all of the bounds and limits granted to Virginia by the charters of the former Kings. Moreover, they agreed that Virginia should have free trade and should be "free from all taxes, customs and impositions whatsoever, and none to be imposed on them without the consent of the Grand Assembly." Old Berkeley accepted the verdict and quietly retired to his country home. The Virginia Assembly shortly afterwards proceeded to elect as Governor Richard Bennett, the Puritan.

When Harvey was thrust out, the Council, with the approval of the House of Burgesses, had requested Captain West to act as Governor, awaiting the pleasure of His Majesty, the King. But now the Assembly did not await the pleasure of the Commonwealth, but deliberately elected a Governor. For eight years the government of the colony was entirely in the hands of the Assembly, and during this period three different Governors were elected.

At the time of the coming of the commissioners Virginia was a prosperous colony. There were thirteen counties along the James River and York River, including the Eastern Shore and Lancaster county on the Rappahannock, and Northumberland county on the Potomac. Settlements had not reached the head of tidewater, however, at any place except at the falls of the James, where Richmond now stands. It is hard to estimate the population at this period, but the rapid influx of Cavaliers and refugees from England had probably brought the population to some twenty thousand, of whom six thousand were indented servants and five hundred negro slaves.

During the Commonwealth period, when Virginia was ruled by a Governor elected by its own Assembly, we are not to assume that all of the people were in accord with the new government, for the Puritan element was now in the ascendancy. This was an unpleasant morsel to the Cavalier element of Virginia. Berkeley, at Old Green Springs, spoke little and suppressed many a hostile feeling. Some, however, were outspoken against the government and were arrested and punished. Moreover, the government during this time was regarded as provisional, and it was not known at what time Oliver Cromwell, the Protector of England, would undo everything which the Assembly was doing. Still the House of Burgesses was very jealous of its rights. Worthy of note was the controversy with Governor Samuel Mathews, who demanded to be admitted as a member of the Assembly, from which he was excluded. Thereupon, after royal fashion, he dissolved the Burgesses. The House of Burgesses very promptly refused to obey his order, believing that a creature of their will had no right to dissolve them, and declared that any Burgess who departed would be regarded as a traitor to the cause which he represented. Mathews yielded somewhat and recalled his dissolution, and said he would refer the whole matter to the Lord Protector in England. With this answer the Burgesses were dissatisfied and so informed the Governor, and above all made this bold assertion, "that they were representatives of the people, not dissolvable by any power yet extant in Virginia but their own." They thereupon removed the Governor, and on his yielding absolutely the right of dissolution, he was reappointed. Thus it appears that Virginia's representatives, even in the seventeenth century, were very jealous of their prerogatives.

In a short time came word that Oliver Cromwell was dead, and that the English government was in a chaotic state,

Richard Cromwell being a weak ruler. Governor Mathews had in the meantime died. What did the Virginians do? The exact steps are not known in minute detail. We do know, however, that the Assembly did elect Sir William Berkeley as Governor, but in doing so declared that since there was no recognized government in England the supreme government of the colony should rest in the Assembly, and that all writs should be issued in the name of the Grand Assembly. What led to the election of Berkeley is not definitely known. Some say that the Cavalier element in Virginia, having enough of Puritan government, had overthrown it by the election of an Assembly favorable to Charles II., and that this Assembly had invited Charles to come to Virginia and be King, and that because of the promise to him of a crown in Virginia he had spoken of it as his "Old Dominion," the term that has come down to this day, and that because of this invitation the King afterwards ordered that the Virginia shield should be inscribed "En dat Virginia quiantum." We know that Berkeley was elected Governor two months before Charles was restored to the throne, but there is nowhere mention in the laws of the Assembly of the words "King" or "Majesty," until four months after Charles II. had been restored. As far as the records show the relation of Virginia to Charles II., we are not able to do more than conclude that Virginia was loyal to the crown, but made no foolish attempts to establish a monarchy in America in opposition to the government of England. That the colony had undoubtedly been friendly to the King, he readily acknowledged when he transmitted to Sir William Berkeley, who had always been faithful to him, a new commission as Governor of Virginia, dated July 1, 1660.

Virginia was now a royal province, and from this time until the Revolution all of her Governors received their com-

missions from the crown. The period of transition from a colony, established by a trading company, to a full-fledged royal province, the period from 1625 to 1660, was in reality an eventful one in the colony, and no student of history can be but impressed with the independent spirit of the Virginians of this time.

Before closing this chapter dealing with this transitional period, it is but right to consider somewhat the relation of Virginia with its sister colony Maryland, especially that controversy in which William Claiborne, an English gentleman of the Cavalier type, was so important a factor. Before coming to Virginia as surveyor-general, Claiborne seems to have been a member of the English Parliament, and to have been recognized as a man of intellect and ability. In his capacity as surveyor-general of the colony he drew the best map of Virginia that had been made up to that time. He was a strict churchman, and as such he had objected to Lord Baltimore's landing at Jamestown in 1629, when he came on a visit to the American continents, unless His Lordship would take the oath of allegiance to the King as head of church and state. Claiborne secured a grant for Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay, where he could plant a settlement and conduct trade with the Indians. Here he planted a settlement and was conducting a successful trade with the Indians north of the Potomac River, when Lord Baltimore's colony arrived under the direction of his brother, Cecil Calvert, and planted the Colony of Maryland at St. Mary's.

Kent Island was included in the territory granted by King Charles to Lord Baltimore, and immediately a dispute arose between Claiborne's followers and the Catholics of Maryland as to the jurisdiction over this island. This resulted in a long controversy. The Virginians agreed with Claiborne that Lord Baltimore's grant was really an invasion of their

rights. Of course, to declare war against a colony planted with the consent of the King was more than the Virginians themselves were willing to undertake, but Claiborne himself protested to Charles I., who authorized Lord Baltimore in no way to interfere with Claiborne's colony. But before the Marylanders received these instructions, with two pinnaces they had invaded Kent Island and had driven away Claiborne's settlers. This decision of the King seemed to settle the matter. However, the Maryland government, though it had failed to take Claiborne prisoner, caused him to be indicted and convicted of murder and piracy, and his personal property on the island was seized and appropriated to Lord Baltimore's use. He thereupon went to England and appealed to the King, who referred the whole question to the "Lords Commissioners of Plantations." After some delay they gave the whole of Kent Island to Lord Baltimore, and left to Claiborne as his only redress an appeal to the courts.

Claiborne now returned to Virginia and attempted to regain some of his personal property, but the Maryland government claimed that he had forfeited it. He thereupon settled down to a quiet life in Virginia, and in 1642 Charles I., as a conciliatory measure, made him treasurer of Virginia for life. In his controversy, Claiborne seemed to have had the support of the people of Virginia at large, but of course the Governors always took the part of Lord Baltimore. Hardly had Claiborne become treasurer of the colony before civil war in England was being waged. Strange to say, Claiborne, though a Cavalier, joined himself to the Puritan party. This policy was undoubtedly determined upon because of his desire to recover Kent Island. About this time, 1644, the Catholic government of Maryland was overthrown by Captain Richard Ingle. Many have claimed that Claiborne was responsible for this rebellion in Maryland, but of this

there is no proof. Governor Calvert fled to Virginia and the next year returned to Maryland with a force furnished him by Governor Berkeley and re-established himself in Maryland.

When the Commonwealth was established in England, and Claiborne, Bennett and others were appointed as Parliamentary Commissioners to reduce Virginia, they were likewise requested to reduce to submission the Colony of Maryland. By these commissioners Governor Stone was removed and the government of Maryland was put in the hands of the Council. It was Claiborne's purpose now to assert his rights on Kent Island. News, however, came that Cromwell had prorogued the English Parliament, whereupon Stone rose in rebellion and declared that the authority under which Claiborne had acted no longer governed him. Immediately Claiborne returned to Maryland, seized the government and called an Assembly, which disfranchised the Catholics. The Lord Protector Cromwell then took a hand in the controversy and tried to straddle the fence: namely, to recognize Lord Baltimore's rights and at the same time to approve of the proceedings of the commissioners who had reduced Maryland to submission to the Commonwealth of England. Thereupon civil war broke out again in Maryland. Stone attacked the government, which was in the hands of the Claibornites, and a battle took place at the mouth of the Severn River, near the present site of Annapolis. Stone's followers were utterly routed, and we are told that Papist heads were strewn over the battlefield, and that the Jesuit Fathers were hotly pursued and escaped to Virginia, where they inhabited a mean, low hut. Twenty persons were killed, and several persons were tried and condemned to death by court-martial, and four of the principals, one of them a councilor, were executed on the spot. Governor Stone was likewise sentenced, but on the intercession of some women his life was spared. This was a severe blow to Lord

Baltimore's government in Maryland, and the Catholics, who had been responsible for the settlement, were deprived of any voice in the government. Lord Baltimore then appealed to Cromwell, who finally settled the whole controversy in favor of His Lordship. Thus Claiborne was forced, after a struggle twenty-four years, to retire from Maryland and to give up his claims on Kent Island.

William Claiborne continued as secretary of the Colony of Virginia until 1660, having been elected to this place by the same Assembly that elected Bennett Governor in 1652. When Charles II. was restored to the throne and Berkeley again became Governor of Virginia, Claiborne retired to private life in New Kent County, which county he had organized and named after Kent Island. In 1660 he was elected a member of that House of Burgesses which Berkeley kept in power for sixteen years. In 1675 he presented a petition to Charles II. in which he showed that in his attempt to settle Kent Island he had lost six thousand pounds, and he begged the King that Lord Baltimore might be forced to make restoration for this loss. To this petition Charles paid no attention. All of Claiborne's friends in England were now dead and he had no one to help him. Claiborne probably died in 1676, in the midst of Bacon's Rebellion, at the age of eighty-seven. He left three sons, from whom many of the best people of Virginia claim descent.

Claiborne has wrongly been called a rebel. His action in overthrowing the Maryland government was done in accordance with instructions which he had received from England. His long and vigorous fight for his rights to Kent Island was not a rebellious action, but a protest against the vacillating policy of the crown in the granting of charters and in making large gifts of land to favorites. The Virginians, not many years after, had reason to recall the wisdom of Claiborne's pro-

test and to deplore the system pursued by the King in granting land.

In concluding this chapter it is well to remember that the years 1625 to 1660 were important ones in Virginia history. On the part of the crown and the royal Governors efforts were made to ignore the charter rights of the Virginians. These were days of trial to the inhabitants of the colony, but they rose to the occasion with a bravery characteristic of Virginians in succeeding years and stood firmly by the right as they saw it. The restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England and the reappointment of Sir William Berkeley as Governor prepared the way for a complete ignoring of these rights, of which the story will be told in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVI.

BACON'S REBELLION.

The restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England and the reappointment of Sir William Berkeley as Governor of Virginia marked the beginning of a new era in the colony. From this time until the Revolution there was a constant growth in population and wealth, though the rights of the people were frequently disregarded by the royal governors as representatives of the King. The ten years from 1642 to 1652, in which Berkeley ruled in Virginia, did not clearly indicate to the Virginians the character of their Governor. In those days he was a young man, every inch an aristocrat and a litterateur. He was a graduate of Oxford University and fellow of Merton College. He had been closely associated with all the literary men of England and had written plays which were acted in the London theatres. But though a man of culture, he had narrow views as to the rights of the common people, and in religious matters he was a thorough bigot. He had been anxious to drive from Virginia all Quakers and Puritans, and had caused the House of Burgesses to pass a law to the effect that all ministers whatsoever "are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England and the laws therein described, and not otherwise be admitted to teach or preach publicly or privately; and that the Governor and Council should take care that all non-conformists shall be compelled to depart from the colony with all convenience." Moreover, he caused the House of Burgesses to pass a strenuous

law against the Quakers, whom he caused to be sent out of the colony. This law declared that all vessels bringing Quakers to Virginia were to be fined one hundred pounds of tobacco, and any person entertaining a Quaker should be compelled to pay one hundred pounds sterling. Still, he had somewhat endeared himself to the people of Virginia by his decision of character, and he was respected as a brave soldier, because he had led a force against the Indians in 1644 and quickly suppressed the insurrection headed by Opechancanough.

In 1660 Berkeley started upon a new career. He determined to do in Virginia what Charles II. was doing in England, namely, to rule according to his own ideas, without much reference to the wishes of the people. He secured the election in that year of a House of Burgesses composed of two representatives from each of the twenty counties in the colony and of one representative from Jamestown, a large majority of whom were favorable to his methods of government. With these Burgesses he and the sixteen Councilors of state sat, constituting the General Assembly that held power for sixteen years. During these sixteen years, however, he did not call the Burgesses frequently to consider the state of affairs of the colony, and consequently there grew up in all parts of the colony a strong feeling of dissatisfaction, which was soon to result in open rebellion on the part of some of the liberty-loving Virginians.

There is preserved an interesting document, a report which Berkeley made to the Commissioners of Plantations in England in 1671. It is a report on the condition of the colony at that time. A synopsis of this report brought out the following facts:

That Virginia was ruled by a Governor, sixteen Councilors and the Burgesses, composed of two representatives from each county; that in twenty-eight years only one prize

had been captured on the high seas; that there was a militia composed of eight thousand; that there were five forts to protect the frontiers against the Indians; that the colony was not molested by privateers, and that the Indians were absolutely subjucated. The Governor complained that while Virginia had originally been a territory embracing ten degrees of latitude, the King had limited it to half a degree. Of the commodities of the country he reported: "We never had any but tobacco, which in this yet is considerable, that it yields His Majesty a great revenue; but of late, we have begun to make silk and are shipping masts, and very good oaks and have enough iron ore to keep one mill going for seven years." The population of the colony he reported as forty thousand, of whom two thousand were black slaves and six thousand indented servants. The number of ships carrying tobacco to England yearly was about eighty, but the navigation laws worked hardships to the colony, and the trade could not increase unless these laws were modified. A tax of two shillings was raised on every hogshead of tobacco exported, and in 1670 fifteen thousand hogsheads were taxed. On education and the condition of the church, he reported:

"The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have fifty-eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years. For learning has brought disobedience and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both"!

The last clause of his report tells the story of his character, namely, that he did not believe in the education of the poor at the expense of the government, but that every man should educate his own children.

About 1670 there arrived in Virginia a man about twenty-four years of age. This was Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., the son of an English gentleman, Thomas Bacon, and probably a kinsman of Lord Francis Bacon, the English philosopher. Young Bacon was educated at Oxford University and had traveled extensively in Europe. As far as history narrates, he was well versed in English politics. Upon reaching manhood he married a daughter of Sir Edward Duke and thus incurred the anger of his father. He thereupon shipped for Virginia, where he soon took a prominent part in the affairs of the colony and became a leader among the younger men.

Everything was not quiet in Virginia when Bacon reached the colony. The planters complained bitterly concerning the navigation act of 1651, by which goods carried into England should be transported only in English ships. The trade which Virginia had with the Dutch was a profitable one, and the Virginians saw it die with bitterness in their hearts. A second navigation act was passed in the reign of Charles II. of the same kind, providing that no goods should either be shipped to or from England except in British built vessels. Neither could any of the products raised in the colony be shipped to any place but ports in England, Ireland or some other port under the British flag. This meant that whatever tobacco was raised in Virginia to supply the demands of European countries would have to go through English ports, and thus the Virginians were placed entirely in the hands of the English merchants, who bought at a low price and in return sold their goods at exorbitant rates. In vain did the settlers protest that this action was unbecoming and tyran-

nous, especially if the mother country did not pay all the expenses of her colonies at home. It was proposed by some of the planters that the crops of tobacco should be reduced, but of course this meant a reduction of the resources of the planters.

Added to the strong feeling that the Virginians thus had against the English government for restricting their trade, there came into existence a distrust of the royal Governor, Sir William Berkeley, especially about 1672, after he had kept one Assembly since 1661. Moreover, his autocratic nature bore hard upon the people who had imbibed a spirit of liberty, which necessarily existed in a new country. Some of the colonists also thought that Berkeley was somewhat responsible for the large grants of land that Charles II. so freely gave to favorites. Then another cause of discontent was the fact that the Governor was engaged privately in trade with the Indians, and consequently he was slow to take steps against the Indians on the frontier when they pillaged and stole the property of the planters.

The year 1675 pointed to serious trouble of some kind, according to the report of some Virginians who were superstitious, for in this year occurred three wonderful things. First of all, a large comet was seen every evening for a week, streaming like a horse's tail across the heavens. To the superstitious, a comet indicated war. This phenomenon was followed by great flights of pigeons in such flocks that the sky was darkened and the limbs of large trees were broken down at night when the pigeons went to roost. A third strange sight was a swarm of flies about an inch long and the size of a man's little finger, and had the letter "W" on their wings, which was interpreted to mean war. These flies, which were probably locusts, came out of the ground and ate all of the leaves from the trees.

But to return to the narrative: In 1675 some Indians dwelling in Stafford county, just across the Rappahannock River from Fredericksburg, stole some pigs of one of the settlers. One or two of the Indians were shot, and the Indians then retaliated by killing a herdsman. At once the county lieutenant called all of the force of Stafford, pursued the Indians and killed about eleven of them. Unfortunately, the Indians killed were not the guilty ones. War having broken out in Maryland against the Susquehannocks, a body of Virginia troops, under the command of Colonel John Washington, went to the assistance of their Maryland brethren. Some Indian envoys who were sent to negotiate with the whites were, against all the rules of war, put to death by the troops commanded by Major Thomas Truman, leader of the Marylanders. Almost immediately Virginia was filled with infuriated Susquehannocks, who began to pillage on the frontier from the head of tidewater on the Potomac to the falls of the James. In January, 1676, in a single day, thirty-six persons were murdered. When Berkeley was informed of this deed he said that nothing could be done until the Virginia Assembly met, in March of that year. At length, when March came, the "Long Assembly" was called. A force of five hundred troops were gathered, but Berkeley, without any explanation, disbanded the army, saying that the frontier forts, if properly equipped, would furnish all the protection that the inhabitants needed. Then it was that Nathaniel Bacon loomed up as a leader. He was said to be a free thinker, but a man who impressed the people, and he drew around him a wily Scotchman, William Drummond, who had been Governor of the Albemarle colony in Carolina, and Richard Lawrence, a graduate of Oxford, who was designated as "Thoughtful Mr. Lawrence." Both of these gentlemen were wealthy men for that day and generation, and are said to have had the best

homes on Jamestown Island. Bacon himself lived on his plantation at Curl's Neck, about fifteen miles from Richmond. In discussing Berkeley's attitude towards the Indian troubles, we are told that Bacon exclaimed, "If the red skins meddle with me, damn my blood but I will harrow them, commission or no commission."

In 1676 some Indians attacked Bacon's plantation and killed his overseer and one of his servants. The planters from the neighborhood assembled. Bacon took the lead and sent a courier to Governor Berkeley to ask for a commission. Berkeley did not grant the commission, though Bacon interpreted his reply as favorable, and wrote him thanking him for his promised commission.

Hardly, however, had Bacon proceeded on his way with his armed force of over five hundred men before news reached them that the Governor had proclaimed all who continued with Bacon as rebels. Thereupon most of the planters returned home, but some fifty-seven continued in arms and with Bacon attacked the Indians near Richmond and defeated them in a bloody battle in which about one hundred and fifty Indians were slain. In the meantime Berkeley had gathered a force and had taken the field against the young Englishman who presumed to proceed without his sanction. But suddenly came news from across the York River that the people of Gloucester were in arms and ready to join with Bacon. Then the Governor, upon the advice of his Council, issued writs for the election of a new House of Burgesses to supersede the "Long Assembly" which had now existed for sixteen years. Bacon's friends rallied around him and elected him as a Burgess from Henrico county. If we can rely upon the reports of the time, in various parts of the colony many men voted though they were not qualified legally, not owning a freehold as required by the law that the previous Assembly had passed in 1670.

As the time for the meeting of the new House of Burgesses approached, Bacon journeyed towards Jamestown from his plantation at Curl's in his sail boat, accompanied by some thirty of his friends and adherents. On reaching Jamestown he was arrested by the high sheriff and taken at once to the capitol and carried into the presence of the stern and harsh Berkeley. The report is that the Governor said to him, rather mildly, "Mr. Bacon, have you forgotten to be a gentleman?" "No, may it please your honor," replied the young rebel. "Very well," said the Governor, "then I will take your parole." Doubtless this was a great surprise to Bacon, and the only conclusion that we can reach for the Governor's gentle treatment was his fear of the people, in view of the fact that a majority of the Burgesses returned from the different counties were not of his party, but belonged to the liberal element in the colony. Bacon went upon his release to the house of his friend, Richard Lawrence. After Bacon's parole the question arose what should be done. He was still a prisoner. His friends were in a state of consternation, and on all sides was heard among the Burgesses and the hundred inhabitants of Jamestown expressions doubtful as to the outcome. No one seemed to realize that there would be an outbreak, and his friends were saying, "All's over; Bacon is taken." It was generally understood that if Bacon would acknowledge his offense and beg the pardon of the Governor, his previous resistance to Governor Berkeley would be entirely overlooked.

In the Council there was another Nathaniel Bacon, Berkeley's friend and the "rebel's" cousin. By this relative Bacon was persuaded, against his will, to offer an apology to Governor Berkeley for having proceeded against the Indians without a commission. When the Assembly met, the Governor rose and said, "If there be 'joy in the presence of angels

over one sinner that repenteth,' there is joy now, for we have a penitent sinner come before us." Turning to the sergeant-at-arms, he said, "Call Mr. Bacon." Bacon appearing, bowed on one knee before the Governor, delivered into his hands a paper confessing his crimes, and begged pardon of God, the King and the Governor. Berkeley then said, "God forgive you. I forgive you and all that were with you." Though the Governor stated that he forgave all, twenty of the men who had gone in arms with Bacon were at that time in prison.

Affairs now grew quiet, and the friends of Bacon even felt that the Governor had been lenient. Bacon occupied his seat in the House of Burgesses. It was soon seen that this new Assembly was determined to reform the government. Under Bacon's influence it proceeded to pass a number of laws dealing with the abuses which the colonists had to undergo during Berkeley's administration. The Governor felt disturbed, and was constantly afraid that an open discussion of the condition of the colony would bring injury to himself. The Burgesses insisted that no member of the Council should sit with them, though it had always been customary up to that time that the Burgesses and the Councilors should sit as one body. However, the Governor carried his point and certain Councilors did sit with the Burgesses. The Assembly proceeded at once to repeal the law of 1670 restricting suffrage; declared that vestrymen should be elected by a popular vote, and that the sheriff should not be appointed for a term of more than one year, and that he should not hold any other office. They abolished those privileges which exempted all Councilors and clergymen and their families from taxation. They passed a resolution providing for the maintenance of an army of one thousand men to keep the Indians in subjection. Everything seemed to be going smoothly, but underneath there was a strong current of discontent on the part of

Berkeley and his adherents, because the Baconians were in the saddle.

A few days later Jamestown was astir. The report was abroad, "Bacon is fled! Bacon is fled!" Berkeley had made promises to Bacon which he was unwilling to keep, and it was rumored that even attempts were to be made upon the life of the young rebel. Bacon went up the river, raised a force of about four hundred men, and after four days led them into Jamestown to demand by force a commission allowing them to fight the Indians. Berkeley at first refused, and, when Bacon's troops surrounded the capitol building shouting, "We'll have it! We'll have it!" the Governor was greatly incensed. He came out of the capitol and, baring his breast before Bacon and his men, said, "Here, shoot me! 'Fore God, fair mark, shoot!"

To this Bacon replied: "No, may it please your honor, we will not hurt a hair of your head, or any other man's. We are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised, and now we will have it before we go."

It seems that the Governor was slow to grant the commission and went into the capitol to consult his Councilors. It is reported that Bacon and his men surrounded the building and swore that they would have a commission or kill the Governor and the Councilors. Whether that be true or not, with much reluctance the Governor granted the commission and soon thereafter dissolved the House of Burgesses. But before this dissolution the Assembly had drawn up a petition to the King setting forth the grievances of the colony and eulogizing Bacon as a faithful citizen who had at heart the interests of Virginia.

Hardly had Bacon started for the forests with about a thousand men before Berkeley proclaimed Bacon a rebel

and traitor, and collected an army of twelve hundred men to seize him. Hearing of Berkeley's action, Bacon turned back to meet him, but the Governor, finding himself deserted by all but a few hundred of his men, sailed away to Accomac. Thereupon Bacon led his troops to Middle Plantation, the site of the present city of Williamsburg. Here he held a conference with his friends and discussed what should be done. William Drummond advised him to depose Berkeley. Bacon's first step, however, was to issue a manifesto, in which he said:

"If virtue be a sin, if piety be guilt, if all the principles of morality, goodness and justice be perverted, we must confess that those who are now called rebels may be in danger of those high imputations. Those loud and several bulls would affright innocents, and render the defense of our brethren and the inquiry into our sad and heavy oppressions Treason. But if there be (as sure there is) a just God to appeal to, if religion and justice be a sanctuary here, if to plead the cause of the oppressed, if sincerely to aim at His Majesty's honor and the public good without any reservation or by-interest, if to stand in the gap after so much blood of our dear brethren bought and sold, if after the loss of a great part of His Majesty's colony deserted and dispeopled, freely with our lives and estates to endeavor to save the remainders, be treason—God Almighty judge and let the guilty die. But since we cannot in our hearts find one single spot of rebellion or treason, or that we have in any manner aimed at subverting the settled government or attempting of the person of any either magistrate or private man, nothwithstanding the several reproaches and threats of some who for sinister ends were disaffected to us and censured our innocent and honest designs, and since all people in all places where we have yet been can attest our civil, quiet, peaceable behavior, far dif-

ferent from that of rebellious and tumultuous persons, let Truth be bold and all the world know the real foundations of pretended guilt. We appeal to the country itself, what and of what nature their oppressions have been, or by what cabal and mystery the designs of many of those whom we call great men have been transacted and carried on." He indicted Sir William Berkeley for raising unjust taxes for the advancement of favorites, for not having provided for the colony fortifications, towns or trade, for having rendered the majesty of the law contemptible by placing ignorant favorites in responsible positions, for having assumed the monopoly of the beaver trade, and for having refused to protect the people of Virginia against the invasions and murders committed by the Indians. He ended his manifesto by demanding that Sir William Berkeley and his followers should be arrested and kept at Middle Plantation until the King of England should render a decision as to the state of affairs in Virginia. A few days later he held a meeting of many of the prominent citizens at Middle Plantation, and he submitted an oath to which they should subscribe, namely, that they would give military aid against Berkeley. They subscribed themselves, however, as faithful subjects of the King. Thereupon, in the name of the King, they issued writs signed by four Councilors for the election of a House of Burgesses. After this proceeding Bacon returned to the wilderness and defeated the Appomattox Indians near where Petersburg now stands.

A resort to arms was necessary to decide the differences between Bacon and Berkeley. In order to carry out the announcement of his manifesto, Bacon sent to Accomac Giles Bland, with four vessels, to arrest Berkeley, but Colonel Philip Ludwell, one of Berkeley's supporters, who married Lady Frances Berkeley on the death of Sir William, succeeded in capturing Bland and putting him into irons.

In the meantime Berkeley returned to Jamestown and fortified the place. Besides the capitol building and a church, Jamestown at that time contained sixteen or eighteen houses, most of them built of brick, but not all occupied, since there was not more than a dozen families on the island. The inhabitants of the place made their living chiefly by keeping boarding-houses for the Burgesses and the officials who had to live at the capital. The town was very easy to defend, but Bacon succeeded in taking it by an act which certainly was lacking in gallantry. He sent soldiers through the neighboring community to bring to his camp some six or eight ladies whose husbands were with Berkeley in the town. One of these was sent to inform her husband and the other followers of Berkeley that Bacon would place the ladies in front of his men if Berkeley should make a sally from the town. With these ladies to protect his troops, Bacon completed his intrenchments, and Berkeley's soldiers did not dare to fire for fear that they might hurt the women. It is stated, however, that Berkeley's men did make one attempt to drive Bacon back. This was in vain, for Bacon's followers were ready to lay down their lives, so stirred were they by the fervor and eloquence of the appeals of their leader. The King's commissioners appointed to inquire into the affairs of the colony after the rebellion had been crushed reported the following as a specimen of Bacon's oratory:

"Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers, how I am transported with gladness to find you thus unanimous, bold and daring, brave and gallant. You have the victory before the fight, the conquest before the battle. . . . Your hardiness will invite all the country along as we march to come in and second you . . . The ignoring of their actions cannot but so much reflect upon their spirit, as they will have no courage left to fight you. I know you have the prayers and well

wishes of all the people in Virginia, while the others are loaded with their curses. Come on, my hearts of gold; he that dies in the field lies in the bed of honor!"

Berkeley's men were no match for Bacon's tried soldiers, and they fled to Accomac, and Bacon entered Jamestown and burned it. Lawrence and Drummond, two of Bacon's followers whose residences were in Jamestown, were the leaders in the burning of the place and applied the torches to their own homes. The King's commissioners reported that many men now suffered at Bacon's hands. He shot one of his own deserters, kept in prison men like Richard Lee and Sir Henry Chicheley, and caused to be plundered the homes of Philip and Thomas Ludwell, Daniel Park and Robert Beverley. Among those especially mentioned as one who said little of his losses, though they were great, was Colonel Augustin Warner, the great-grandfather of George Washington, and among the delinquents was John Washington, another great-grandfather of George Washington. The Indians were also driven into the woods, even those who had been friendly to the colony, among them being the Queen of the Pamunkeys, who was plundered of all that she had, while her people were made prisoners. His soldiers are said to have plundered the estate of his cousin, Nathaniel Bacon, the elder.

Shortly after this Bacon went into Gloucester county, where the people, he had heard, were in sympathy with Berkeley. As a test of their allegiance, he called upon them to take an oath against Berkeley, and many complied with this request. While in Gloucester he was taken ill at the house of a friend, Mr. Pate, and here he died, the first day of October, 1676. His enemies spread it abroad that he was an excessive drinker and that his death was due to this cause, but this report was, beyond a doubt, false. Bacon died probably from fever.

According to all accounts Bacon was a young man of great native gifts and wide culture. He was a very persuasive and impressive orator, and had the reputation of being able to speak more "sense in a few words" than any other man in the colony.

With Bacon's death ended the rebellion. Berkeley soon secured control of the places which Bacon had seized, and caused some twenty-three of the latter's followers to be put to death. The first person to be executed was Colonel Thomas Hansford, who was captured and carried to Accomac. When brought before the Governor he only requested that he might be shot like a soldier, but not hanged like a dog. Berkeley scorned to consider the request and caused him to be hanged. Hansford has been designated the first native martyr to American liberty. When William Drummond, one of Bacon's commanders, was captured and brought before Berkeley, the hard-hearted old tyrant said: "Mr. Drummond, you are very welcome. I am more glad to see you than any man in Virginia. Mr. Drummond, you shall be hanged in half an hour," and it is reported that the sentence was actually carried out inside of two hours.

A very touching story is told concerning Major Cheesman, another of Bacon's followers. It is said that when the major was brought before the Governor, he was asked why he had joined Bacon, and before he could make a reply his wife came in and bowed before Governor Berkeley. She declared that she had urged her husband to fight with Bacon, and that but for her influence he would not have taken part in the rebellion. Upon her bended knees she begged Sir William to hang her instead of her husband. The Governor, furious with her, called her by an insulting name and ordered her husband to be thrown into prison, where he soon died from bad treatment.

Berkeley in his punishment of the offenders went too far, and finally the King in England listened to the complaints that came from Virginia. Moreover the commissioners' reports showed that Berkeley had been excessively harsh. Charles II. is reported to have said: "As I live, the old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." He thereupon recalled Sir William Berkeley in 1677 and appointed in his stead Sir Herbert Jeffries, who was one of the commissioners to report on the state of the colony. From the rebuke given him by the King Berkeley never recovered, and died soon afterwards of a broken heart.

Bacon's Rebellion was the first open attempt at liberty. It was a war against English tyranny as exercised by a colonial Governor. It was not intended, however, to be a real war against England, but only against Berkeley himself. It was an effort on the part of the Virginians to manage their own affairs in a way that would be for the benefit of the colony. There is no doubt that a majority of the Virginians believed that Bacon's principles were right, but it is doubtful whether a majority really favored open rebellion against the Governor. We know, however, that the wealthier planter class of Virginia were in sympathy with Berkeley, and many of them, among them Philip Ludwell, thought that Bacon and his followers were what in these modern days would be termed socialists.

Bacon will always be one of Virginia's heroes, because he stood for the abolition of privileges, for the overthrow of monopolistic ideas, and for equal rights to all freemen. He was not far from being a type of the modern American leader who proclaims as a fundamental principle, "The people must be heard."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PASSING OF JAMESTOWN AND THE RISE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

The story of the rise and of the decline of Jamestown, "the cradle of the republic," is most pathetic. From the outset it was a fateful struggle against an environment that made failure inevitable. It never really achieved the growth that warranted so dignified a title as "James City." It was always, even in its most flourishing days, "small, poor and insignificant." Its history is a pitiful story of disaster after disaster, which resulted finally in its complete abandonment and the removal of the capital to the Middle Plantation.

When Smith left the colony in 1609 it had, according to his statement, within the fort besides the church house forty or fifty huts. These were of the rudest construction and were doubtless built with little regard to the very precise plans that had been furnished in the instructions of the London Company.

By the year 1623 these buildings, instead of having been added to, had been diminished, so that it is said there were only twenty-two dwelling houses in the town besides the public buildings. These dwelling houses were of a more substantial sort, and were perhaps capable of accommodating a larger population than the forty or fifty wretched huts left by John Smith.

After the Indian massacre of 1622 there was no increase in the population of the town and scarcely any progress made at all in its improvement.

In the year 1636 the Grand Assembly, stimulated by instructions from England, became interested in the improvement and enlargement of the town. It passed an act granting a house lot and a garden plot to every settler who would agree to build thereon within six months. This provision, however, did not induce any great number of people to leave their country homes and seek residence in the capital city. In 1638 this act was re-enacted. The latter endeavor seems to have been crowned with moderate success, for twelve dwellings were built and also a store. Among these was the first brick house of the colony. This house was 16x24 feet in its ground plan and arrangement.

When Governor Berkeley came to the colony, in 1642, he brought very urgent instructions to rebuild the town in brick. He set about this task in his usual vigorous fashion. As an inducement for the people to come into the town and build brick houses, it was ordered that every person who would build a brick house 16x24 feet, with a cellar, would have an additional five hundred acres of land to his grant of lot and garden plot.

With all the encouragement given by the Assembly to induce people to build in the city, there was still left a great many unoccupied lots, some of which were reserved by persons who, for one reason and another, had not built houses thereupon. In 1643 the Assembly ordered that whosoever should build on one of these deserted lots would thereby secure a title to the lot, provided he built of brick and paid back taxes. It was provided that even if the owner of such a lot would turn up at a later day, he might be allowed to select another unimproved lot, but would not be allowed to dispossess the person who had built upon his lot.

In order to stimulate general interest in the capital city and to induce regular visitations on the part of people from

the country districts, a law was passed establishing market days in Jamestown on Wednesdays and Saturdays, but this expedient likewise proved a failure, and the law was repealed in 1665. In one of the schemes exploited it was urged that the owners of plantations should build in the town nearest his plantation a dwelling house in which he and his family should reside; the planter managing his estate by daily visits from his residence in the city. It was further urged that on Saturday afternoons all servants were to be relieved of their work, and that they should be ordered to leave the plantation with only a sufficient number left upon each plantation to protect it, and to go into the neighboring towns with their masters and remain until after the Sabbath had passed. This device was recommended as being an expedient which would draw into the towns a large number of people, and would also furnish an opportunity for religious instruction, especially to the servants and slaves on the plantations. It was soon found, however, that it was quite impossible to carry out such suggestions.

In 1662 Sir William Berkeley, who had been restored to his position as Governor of the colony on the return of the Stuarts to power, was commanded to use every endeavor, not only to build up Jamestown, but to induce the planters to erect a town at some convenient point upon every important river. It was understood, however, that Jamestown was to continue to be the seat of the government, and special care was to be taken to see that its interests were safeguarded. The Governor was commanded by the English government to build several houses himself in the town, and was likewise instructed to say to the members of the Council that the English authorities would be greatly pleased if each member of the Council would erect a residence at Jamestown.

The General Assembly sought by prompt legislation to co-operate with the authorities in England and with the Governor and Council in the effort to promote the building of the towns in the colony, and especially to build up Jamestown, as the most important of the colonial towns. By special legislation it was sought to make Jamestown the single port of entry for the entire colony, making a law that all tobacco should be shipped from that point, and that ships bringing supplies for the settlers should not break their cargo until Jamestown had been reached. The law that was passed in 1662 was most elaborately drawn, and seemed to cover every imaginable detail in the great scheme of building up towns in Virginia. It provided that towns should be built on the York, Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers, and on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. In this act it was provided that there should be thirty-two houses in Jamestown. Each house was to be constructed of brick and was to be 40x20 feet, and 18 feet in height. The walls were to be of brick, and the roof was to be of tile or slate and was to have a pitch of fifteen feet.

In order to carry out this scheme with as much dispatch and thoroughness as possible, each of the seventeen counties in Virginia was ordered to build a house at Jamestown at its own expense. The most minute care was taken that this scheme be put into operation as soon as possible and with as little friction as possible. The cost of material, the wages of mechanics and laborers, their entertainment at the taverns in Jamestown, were all matters of careful legislation. It was provided that the tobacco crops of James City, Charles City and Surry should be brought to Jamestown. The penalty for failure to do this was to be a fine of one thousand pounds of tobacco.

It was furthermore provided that the person and pro-

perty of every man living in the town should for two years be exempt from every form of legal process, unless it was for debt created within the bounds of the city or for the commission of a capital offense.

The proceeds coming from the levy of thirty pounds of tobacco a head for the building up of towns in Virginia for the first year were to be spent in the improvement and extension of Jamestown. After the first year these proceeds were to be used in the building of towns in Accomac, and on the York, Rappahannock and Potomac Rivers.

As might well be imagined, these various expedients proved only moderately successful as far as Jamestown was concerned, and provoked widespread dissatisfaction among the settlers throughout Virginia.

In the year 1676, at the outbreak of the Bacon Rebellion, there were really only sixteen or eighteen dwellings in the town. The church was built of brick and was described as being "fair and large." In the sixteen or eighteen dwelling houses there were said to be about a dozen families obtaining their living by "keeping ordinaries at extraordinary rates."

In spite of the great and persistent efforts that had been made to interest the settlers in Jamestown as the capital city, there does not appear to have been among the settlers the least pride or interest in the town. The spirit of rebellion was so rife and strong at the time of the outbreak of Bacon and his followers that the town was looked upon as being a part of the system against which they were in rebellion. And so when Bacon drove Berkeley out of the town the place was reduced to ashes by the soldiers of Bacon, it being said that Drummond and Lawrence set fire to their own homes. So complete was the destruction of the town that when the English regiments were dispatched to the colony to put down the insurrection, they were not able to find shelter anywhere in the town.

For a number of years after Jamestown's destruction by Bacon, very little was done towards its rehabilitation. There was plainly a strong desire among the people to have the old town remain as it was—in ashes. They were perfectly contented to live in their own separate homes, caring little whether the General Assembly had a place to meet in, or whether there was a town known as the capital of Virginia.

When the commissioners came from England to inquire into the reasons for the uprising, they recommended that the town be rebuilt. When Culpeper was appointed Governor he was commanded to rebuild Jamestown and to establish there again the executive offices of the colony. And again the crown declared that it would be a matter of personal satisfaction to him if the members of the Council would build houses at Jamestown and dwell there.

In 1680, after the arrival of Culpeper, it was sought, by the passing of an act known as "The Act of Cohabitation," to resort again to the scheme of building up towns in Virginia. This act provided that there should be as many towns as there were counties, at accessible and convenient places. It was designed that these towns should be the centres of the social and commercial life of each district. All goods that were for sale were to be brought into these towns, and all things that the settlers needed to buy must be purchased in these towns. If there was any complaint that the expense incident to the establishment of a town was too great to be borne by any single county, it was provided that two counties might unite in building a town at a location convenient to the counties involved. This act did not seek to make ports of entries at towns built upon the rivers of Virginia, but the counties were allowed to select a site as a port of entry most convenient to the majority of its inhabitants. There seems to have been an honest effort to carry out the provisions of

this cohabitation act, but in the course of ten years or more it was realized that this endeavor to build up towns had gone the way of every other effort in that direction.

In 1690 an act known as "The Act for Ports" was passed. This was in essential agreement with the other acts that had been passed in the effort to build up towns and to establish certain ports of entries. It differed from the other acts only in the matters of detail, the general design and purpose being the same. Mr. Nicholson, who was then Governor and who had taken great interest in the passage of the act, openly expressed his dislike for the law the following year and sought to secure its repeal. In 1692-'93 the statute really was suspended by the Assembly, after it had been in operation only for several months. It was given as an excuse for the suspension of this act that the consent of the authorities in England had not been secured to the scheme. The real truth, however, is that the people stubbornly refused to be dislodged from their plantation life. They insisted that nature would settle all of these economic questions involved in the building up of towns, and never while it was cheaper and easier for them to have their own ports of entry, receiving goods and shipping goods from their own private wharves, would they ever be likely to consent to the abandonment of this simple and natural method for any artificial and elaborate requirement of the Assembly.

In 1698 there came another royal communication to the effect that Jamestown must be enlarged. But the following year the General Assembly passed an act for the establishment of the city of Williamsburg, nearly eight miles northeast of Jamestown; and for the erection of a Statehouse there it provided that the cost thereof should be secured by a tax on all slaves imported into the colony, and upon all servants brought into the colony not born in England or Wales.

After the fire of 1698 Jamestown gradually wasted away, and twenty-three years later there was nothing left but "an abundance of brick rubbish," and three or four good inhabitable houses. In 1807 there were only two dwellings on the island, the Jacquelin-Ambler mansion and the Travis mansion. In 1861 only the Jacquelin-Ambler mansion remained standing, and this was burned during the course of the Civil War. This house was afterwards rebuilt, but in 1896 it was again destroyed by fire.

Mr. Young, in perhaps the best and most accurate and exhaustive treatment ever given to the site of Jamestown, has the following to say with regard to the wasting away of the original site of the town, it having been the opinion for many years by men presumed to be thoroughly competent, that much of the original site of the town had been eaten away by the tides and currents of the river:

"As it is the general opinion that the greater part of the ancient town site had been washed away, it will be a pleasant surprise to many to learn that this view is erroneous. The proof of the error is furnished in the old James City Patent Records, which, when properly interpreted, show that but a small portion of the town site has been destroyed and that the quarter called the 'new town' has not been encroached upon to any appreciable extent by the river."

There seems to have been no special ceremony in connection with the transfer of the seat of government from Jamestown to Williamsburg. It must, however, have been with mingled emotions of regret and satisfaction that the old capital was abandoned. One wonders if these people had any appreciation of the important place which the straggling village was forever to hold in the annals of civilization.

Here it was that the English first found a permanent foothold on the new continent; here was the cradle in which the

infant nation was rocked and nourished; here the star of empire took up its journey westward, from Orient to Occident, in the continental sweep of America's growth and civilization; here was inaugurated the first American commerce, which now crosses every sea and reaches every distant shore; here was established the first legislative assembly on the new continent, where was promulgated with increasing clearness and insistence those great principles of human rights and liberty that gave birth to the American republic, the consummate flower of democracy; here first fell the shadow of African slavery, the deep problems of which still wait for ultimate solution; here was erected the first Protestant Christian church, whose persistent and pervasive influence has stamped ours as a Christian nation.

When one considers the influence for the world's betterment and emancipation that went forth from this insignificant village, one is reminded of the obscure village that nestles among the Judean hills of Palestine, of which the hymnologist sang:

"O little town of Bethlehem!
How still we see thee lie.
Above thy deep and dream-like sleep
The silent stars go by.

"Yet in thy dark streets shineth
The Everlasting Light;
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee to-night."

The Middle Plantation, to which the capital was removed by reason of the formal act of the Assembly in 1699, was a little over seven miles distant from Jamestown, and is described as a "more salubrious situation." It is about midway between the York River and the James River. Streams near

the town find their way, some to the York River and others to the James River.

The provision for the establishment of the new capital were made in great elaborateness and detail. It was provided first of all that in the town plot there should be reserved four hundred and seventy-five square feet of land as a site for a Statehouse, with an area of two hundred feet in all directions to remain unoccupied and unobstructed. The town itself was to be built upon two hundred and eighty-three acres. Two hundred and twenty acres were intended to be occupied by houses, and fifteen acres were designated as a roadbed that should lead from the town to Queen's Creek, which flowed into the York River. Here was reserved some fourteen acres for a port, it being provided that twenty-three acres should be reserved for a similar purpose on Archer's Hope Creek, which finds its way to the James River. The selection of the ground upon which the town was to be built was left to a jury of twelve men taken from the counties of York, New Kent and James City. These all were required to be freeholders, and none of them to be related by blood or marriage to the owners of the property. Their selection was reported to the secretary of the colony, and immediately the trustees, who had already been appointed, were authorized to enter upon the land as an absolute estate and inheritance to be held in trust for the object defined in the statutes. Any lot with a house standing upon it was not included in this transfer, the ownership of which remained with the original owner.

Town lots were to be one-half acre in size, and the trustees were instructed to convey these lots to purchasers when they had paid fifty per cent. of the original cost to the government. The lots were sold with the understanding that the purchaser should, within a space of two years, build a

The Old Powder Horn, Williamsburg.
Built in 1714.

dwelling twenty feet in width and thirty feet in length. All houses were to be built upon a line and within six feet of the roadway.

The new capital had from the outset a most satisfactory development. Already there had been erected the building for the use of the College of William and Mary. This building was designed by Sir Christopher Wren, and was admirably adapted for the purpose for which it was intended. It was in this building that the House of Burgesses met until 1705. In that year was completed the capitol building. The word "capitol," with reference to State buildings, was used for the first time in connection with the new building. This building was located at the opposite end of the Duke of Gloucester Street. It was built in the shape of the letter "H," with a portico in front, and it was two stories high. The foundations of this old building remain in a fine state of preservation until this day.

Nearby the capitol building was erected the famous Raleigh Tavern, which was a frame building, a story and a half high, with a wing on each side. The room known as "The Apollo Room" is the most interesting apartment in the old tavern. In this room was a deep fireplace with a door on either side, and it was adorned with carved wainscoting under the windows and over the mantels.

When Spotswood became Governor, a palace for the use of the Governor was built midway between the college and the capitol building, upon an estate of about four hundred acres. This building was crowned with a cupola, which was illuminated on the King's birthday. A school building, owned by the college, has been built upon the site occupied by this old mansion.

In the public square of the town, under the supervision of Governor Spotswood and in obedience to an act of the

Assembly, was built the octagonal brick Powder Horn. This building was also designed by Sir Christopher Wren. At one time it was surrounded by an outer wall, and the entire premises were used as a magazine, armory and blacksmith's shop.

In 1715 the old Bruton Church was erected, and this, too, under the supervision of Governor Spotswood. It was cruciform in shape, having a tower at the west end that looked towards the college building. It was built of bricks made in English molds. The windows were small squares of plain white glass, most of which still remain. The church was surrounded by a low brick wall with a stone coping. The land upon which the church was built was the gift of Sir John Page. Flagstone walks led from the street to the church, and the aisles of the church were paved with the same material. The Governor's pew was a conspicuous feature in the church furnishings. It was elevated, square in shape and canopied over with rich, red silk. It occupied one of the corners made in the transept and nave. There was the usual high pulpit, with a sounding-board in the rear. The choir was located behind the pulpit, and the chancel was at the eastern end.

Among other prominent buildings was the house used for the president of William and Mary College. This house was occupied by Lafayette's troops during a part of the Revolutionary War, and was accidentally destroyed by fire; but was afterwards rebuilt as a gift from Louis XVI. This house was also used for a while as the headquarters of Lord Cornwallis. Towards the close of the War of the Revolution, Washington had his headquarters at the home of Chancellor Wythe, on Palace Green.

There was also built in 1769 the courthouse, which was designed likewise by Sir Christopher Wren. Of these buildings there remain the Powder Horn, the Bruton Church and

the courthouse, all of which are thoroughly well preserved, after having passed through the vicissitudes of two great wars. Chancellor Wythe's house still remains, as also the homes of Peyton and Edmund Randolph, John Blair and others of Revolutionary fame, "with their quaint stone steps, colored doorways and brass knockers, and with dormer windows, offices and old rose gardens."

In the Bruton Church is preserved an old font from which Pocahontas is said to have been baptized. This is a tradition, and is beyond a doubt incorrect. There is preserved in this church the Jamestown communion service, and with this a set known as the "Queen Anne" set, washed with gold and exquisitely chased, and also other silver pieces of historic interest.

The new capital soon became the centre of the political and social life of Virginia. So gay was it that it is said really to have resembled the court of St. James in its social ceremonies and functions. The gentlemen of the day were arrayed in brilliantly colored velvets and ruffles; the clergymen were clad in sombre black; judges in scarlet robes, and the students of William and Mary in academic dress. The ladies wore over the booming hoop-skirt gowns of rich brocade, trailing to the floor, their heads adorned with feathers, ribbons and lace, and dressed exceeding high. The mingling of these brilliant colors and the quaint costumes presented a most picturesque and fascinating spectacle in the social life of the new capital. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century theatre-going was introduced, a company from England presenting "The Merchant of Venice" to Williamsburg society. It has been said that the Apollo Room, at the Raleigh Tavern, probably witnessed more scenes of brilliant festivity and political excitement than any other single apartment in North America.

If Jamestown, the old capital, was "the cradle of the republic," Williamsburg, the new capital, was the birthplace of the American Revolution. It was from the Powder Horn magazine that Dunmore stole the powder with which Norfolk was attacked and burned. It was at Williamsburg that the demand for liberty was crystallized into the famous resolution, unanimously and enthusiastically passed, in which were instructed the delegates to the Continental Congress to declare the united colonies free and independent States. It is said that when the tidings of the passage of this resolution by the Continental Congress reached Williamsburg, the town went fairly wild in its patriotic enthusiasm and demonstration. The bells were all rung, and all the guns were fired, and from the flagstaff of the town was hauled down the British flag.

During the exciting scenes of the Revolution the capital of Virginia was removed to Richmond. Williamsburg, however, still remains a most charming and aristocratic Virginia community, preserving with unaffected pride the simple and high traditions of its honorable past, and exemplifying still the grace and affluence of old Virginia hospitality.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AN INFANT NATION'S INDUSTRIES.

With the colony passing from the seventeenth into the eighteenth century and entering upon a new career with the capital established at Williamsburg, it will be an opportune time to inquire into the industrial condition that had obtained in the settlement and to make a brief history of the various enterprises that had been entered upon.

The members of the London Company had a very strange and exaggerated notion of the climatic conditions of Virginia. They refused to believe anything but that there could be produced and manufactured in Virginia all the things that had hitherto been imported into England from other countries. As an indication of the popular thought concerning Virginia's versatility and fertility, we make the following quotation from a sermon by Daniel Price, which is published by Mr. Alexander Brown, the original copy of which is in the Carter Brown library. The extract that we use is from Mr. Neil's "Virginia's Vetusta":

"The country is not unlike to equalization (though not India in gold, which is not impossible yet,) Tyrus for colors, Basan for woods, Persia for oils, Arabia for spices, Spain for silks, Narris for ship building, Netherlands for fish, Pomona for fruit, and by tillage, Babylon for corn, besides the abundance of mulberries, minerals, rubies, pearls, gems, grapes, dyes, fowl, drugs for physic, herbs for food, ashes for soap, timber for building, pastures for feeding, rivers for fishing, and what-

ever commodities England wanted; also that virgin country may in time prove to us the farm of Britain as Sicily was of Rome, or the garden of the world as Thessaly, or the argosy of the world as is Germany."

To further indicate the versatility of the first settlers' plans, we give the following from a true and sincere declaration given out by John Stephany in 1609: "A table of such as are required to this plantation: four honest and learned ministers, two surgeons, two druggists, ten iron men for furnace and hammer, two armorers, two gun founders, six blacksmiths, ten sawyers, six carpenters, six ship builders, six gardeners, four turners, four brickmakers, two dye makers, ten fishermen, six fowlers, four sturgeon dressers and preservers of the caviare, two salt makers, six coopers, two ploughmen, two rope makers, six vine dressers, two press makers, two joiners, two soap ash men, two mineral men, two planters of sugar cane, two silk dressers, two pearl drillers, two bakers, two brewers, two colliers." This memorandum would make it appear that the enterprising colonists were about to lay vigorous hands upon every form of industry known to man.

Mr. Eggleston, in his "Beginners of the Nation," declares in his chapter on the "Procession of Motives" "that the prolonged movement for a colonial establishment, which extended over the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth and almost the whole reign of James I., was kept alive by delusions."

From the outset the London Company seems to have expected immediate returns and looked for the coming of each returning vessel with eager expectancy, doubting nothing but that it would bring cargoes of wealth, if not of one sort, of another. To meet this desire of the company the colonists began at once to send back to England such stuffs as they might lay immediate hold of. Sassafras was among these

first commodities exported. At that time it was in great use for various domestic and medicinal purposes. Soap ashes were made by burning the trees, to which there was no end in the immediate neighborhood, and which were scarce in the old country. Timber, especially cedar, was among the first of these exports, and timber in other forms made up parts of these early cargoes. This impetuous haste in creating a commerce between the old and new countries was evidently the desire to make good the statements and representations that had been given forth by the London Company in their effort to enlist the people in their colonial enterprise.

First and last they seem to have undertaken every conceivable form of industry. They made a most vigorous effort to send from Virginia the things that had hitherto been procured from the opposite ends of the earth. Not only was there an attempt to produce the commodities of the tropical regions, but also to furnish those supplies that had been obtained from the Baltic and Russia and the more northern countries of the world.

Among the first industrial vagaries into which the early settlers were drawn was the culture of silk and its manufacture. The knowledge of silk and the demand for it spread with marvelous rapidity. When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne little was known of silk in England as a wearing apparel, but in a little while after her reign had begun the use of silk came into such general favor as that by the time of 1617 it was declared by Lord Carew that "there is a madness for silk instead of cloth."

So early as 1608 James I. had caught the contagion, evidently from King Henry IV., then reigning in France. He procured a private stock of silkworms and began to plant for himself mulberry trees and to encourage others to do the same. A certain Mr. Stallenge procured a license in 1609,

for twenty-one years, to print and sell a book of instructions for the planting and increasing of mulberry trees, the breeding of silkworms and the making of silk. Mr. Hakluyt, who was in haste always to turn everything to the advantage of the Virginia Colony, seized promptly upon the silk craze and announced with great assurance that "mulberry trees, apt to feed silkworms to make silk, were a chief commoditie of Virginia."

In 1608 there was begun in Virginia the raising of silkworms and the effort to manufacture silk. From these first experiments some silk was sent to England, which, however, must have cost much more than it was sold for in London.

On account of the confusion and suffering incident to the first years of the colony, it was impossible to give attention to little else than the protection of themselves against their enemies and sickness, and to procure food enough to keep body and soul together.

The first effort of silkworm raising failed in a very few years. The settlers were fortunate in being able to excuse the failure with the fact that the rats had eaten the eggs of the silkworms. In the meantime the craze for silk was rapidly increasing. The supply was so limited and the demand so great that it was bringing exorbitant prices in the London market. In the year 1620 it was being sold as raw silk for twenty-eight shillings per pound. It was thought that if such prices might be secured the culture of silk would prove an exceedingly profitable enterprise. So in 1620 plans were again projected for the growth and manufacture of silk in Virginia. The Earl of Southampton undertook to re-establish the enterprise. Every effort was made to secure the best quality of silkworm and the most competent and skilled laborers to direct the enterprise, and to circulate among the people as widely as possible the most expert information con-

cerning the care of the silkworm and the growth of the mulberry tree, upon which the worm was to feed. A Mr. Bonel, at the suggestion of the company, made a special book on the subject of silk culture and the manufacture of silk, which was distributed free of cost to the people. Supplies of worms were secured from Italy, Spain and France, and from the royal silk establishment expert workmen were brought over to have general charge of the culture of silk in the colony. The General Assembly lent itself to the enterprise in legislation that sought to encourage, in every possible way, the industry. The very first year of its existence a law was passed encouraging the planting of mulberry trees. In order to create a general interest in the culture of silk, the London Company, in 1621, issued an order that only members of the Council and heads of hundreds should be permitted to wear garments made of silk, except as the silk was made and cultivated by themselves.

As usual in those days, the most extravagant notions concerning the culture of silk and the profits therefrom were current among the people. It was reported that a certain woman had discovered that the silkworm, if let alone, would care for itself, "to the instant enrichment of all the planters." It was also conceived and recommended that the Indians would soon follow the example of the settlers and turn to the raising of silk. It was also conceived that the American caterpillar was really the natural silkworm, and by a little manipulation and encouragement its cocoon would become sufficiently refined to produce the finest quality of silk. However, in 1666 the craze for silk passed away, and the Assembly repealed all the laws that had been made with reference to the culture of silk. For many years groups of growing mulberry trees remained as the monuments of the folly of the first settlers in an honest and determined effort to create an impossible commerce in silk.

Very early in the history of the colony the settlers became interested in the manufacture of glass. It was doubtless the value that Indians set upon glass beads that suggested the desirability of their manufacture in the colony. It seemed good to be able to make in their own mints that which for many purposes could be made to serve as a medium of exchange between them and the Indians. Even while Smith was in the colony he wrote to the treasurer of the company and spoke of the desirability of the manufacture of glass, and asked that glass workers be sent over from Germany or Poland. Evidently the first settlers were under the impression that there was nearby an abundant supply of sand out of which the glass could be made, and they were much impressed with the large supply of timber for fuel, of which there was a growing scarcity in England.

When Newport came over in the fall of 1608 he brought with him a number of Dutch and Poles whose business it should be to manufacture glass. With little delay a glass house was erected about a mile from Jamestown. When Newport returned to England, after he had delivered the second supply, he carried some samples of manufactured glass. The manufacture of glass at this time very likely ceased during the starvation period, and no effort was made to revive it until 1621. In that year the company felt that it was important that the work should be taken up again, and entered into contract with Captain William Norton, who was going to the colony with his family. He was to carry to Virginia laborers skilled in glass making, and was allowed also two servants. He was given the exclusive right to manufacture glass for a term of seven years. His entire time was to be given to the superintending and management of the works. It was also stipulated that he was to retain no beads in his possession, as these could be used only in trade

with the Indians, and the company reserved to itself all rights to barter with the Indians. It was soon found out that the company could not keep its part of the contract with Captain Norton, and so the organization of a separate company was resorted to, and between this company and Captain Norton very much the same contract was entered into. Norton came to the colony and actually built the glass house. He, however, soon died, and by direction of the company the management of the glass works was left to Sir Edwin Sandys. The failure of the works is attributed to two things: the men brought over to work were very hard to manage and were disposed to spend their time among the Indians, from whom they got an easier and a more abundant living. Their conduct must have been exceedingly exasperating, as the mild Sandys speaks of them in this fashion: "That a more damned crew Hell never vomited." This would be considered rather an unbecoming speech by any pious captain of industry in these latter days. The other fact that contributed to the failure of the glass works is that there appeared to be nowhere accessible any sand suitable for the manufacture of glass. Several sand banks along the river were tried, after which a cargo of sand was procured from Cape Henry, but it was found that the glass manufactured from it was of a very inferior sort. So, in sheer desperation, the London Company was informed that sand should be brought to America and manufactured into glass. This is a fair example of the thoughtless and hasty way in which the settlers, in their anxiety to bring things to pass, undertook to do impossible things. Doubtless if they had been let alone they would have soon adapted themselves to their new surroundings, and would at least have solved the problem of their own support without the waste of time and energy in these wild enterprises.

Allusion has been made to the iron furnaces at Falling

Creek that were destroyed by the Indians in the massacre of 1622. The notion that iron could be mined and manufactured somewhere contiguous to the settlements took hold upon the minds of the people early in the history of the colony. Iron was discovered by the Raleigh expeditions, and was reported as being in large quantities and of fine quality. Harriot, the friend of Raleigh and the historian of his expeditions, speaking of the discovery of iron near Roanoke Island, said:

"We found near the water side the ground to be rocky and which was found to hold iron richly. I know nothing to the contrary but that it may be allowed for a good mercantile commodity considering the small charges for the labor and the feeding of men, the infinite store of wood, the waste of wood and the dearness thereof in England and the necessity of ballasting of ships."

On account of these considerations Mr. Harriot evidently thought that such iron might be mined to good advantage and great profit.

When Newport returned in 1608 to England, he carried some iron ore with his cargo. The ore was smelted and seventeen tons of it were sold at £4 per ton to the East India Company. This was doubtless the first iron ever manufactured from American ore. There is an utter absence of proof that the aborigines knew anything at all of the manufacturing of iron. Their implements and vessels were invariably made of stone, and not of iron. There was, to a small extent, a knowledge of the use of copper, but there is no evidence that they appreciated the value of iron or had learned to use it.

In 1610 Sir Thomas Gates told the Council in London that there were divers metals, especially iron ore, in Virginia lying upon the surface of the ground, some of which had been sent home and found to yield as good iron as any in England.

In 1617 the Virginia Company sent over iron workers, with instructions to set up three iron works at some desirable points in the colony. The enterprise was undertaken in that same year and was located at Falling Creek, a tributary of the James River, seven miles below Richmond.

Mr. Beverly, in his "History of Virginia," alludes to these works in the following way:

"The works were set up where they made proof of good iron ore and brought the whole work so near perfection that they sent word to the company in London that they did not doubt but to finish the work and have plentiful provision of iron for them by the next Easter in the spring of 1621." Unfortunately the three men who had been sent over by the London Company, and who had been intrusted with the construction of the works and the management of them, died, and as there were no other men competent to take their places, the works were in disuse.

In July, 1621, the company sent over Mr. John Berkeley to take charge of the works. Mr. Berkeley was accompanied by his son and by twenty laborers, skilled and experienced in iron work. They had not been long in the country before the following communication was received from the London Company, directed to the Council in Virginia:

"We pray your assistance in the perfecting of these two works. The profit will redound to the whole colony, and therefore it is necessary that you extend your authority to the utmost limits to enforce such as shall refuse the help to a business so much to the general good."

On the 5th of December, 1621, there was another communication, "urging all possible diligence and industrious effort to further and accomplish those great and many designs of salt, sawing mills and iron." In 1622 there was this further communication: "The good entrance which we have un-

derstood you have made in the iron works and in other stable commodities, let us have at least by the next return some good quantity of iron and wine."

But the next tidings that go to the London Company are the tidings of the terrible massacre and the destruction of the property at Falling Creek, and of the death at the hands of the Indians of every man associated with the works. These works were never rebuilt.

In 1724, on the Horse Shoe Peninsula, on the Rapidan, Governor Spotswood built a town, calling it Germanna. Here he built his own home, surrounding it with houses for workmen, with whom he expected to operate furnaces for the making of iron. Finding in this neighborhood an abundance of iron ore, he formed a partnership with Mr. Robert Cary for the mining of ore and the manufacture of iron.

Colonel Byrd has in his letters a most charming account of his visit to these mines and to the home of Governor Spotswood. It was in an interview on this visit that Governor Spotswood was styled by Colonel Byrd as "the Tubal Cain of Virginia. As the first worker in iron upon anything like a large scale, he is justly entitled to this name. In this interview Governor Spotswood expressed the hope that his adventure in mining and manufacturing of iron would be considered by the Virginia people a good example to follow, saying that "the four furnaces now at work in Virginia circulate a great deal of money for provisions and all other necessities. They took off a great number of hands from planting tobacco and provided a work that produced large sums of money in England to the persons concerned whereby the country is so much the richer; that they are providing a great advantage to Great Britain because it lessens the quantity of iron ore imported from Spain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Muscovy, which used to be no less than twenty thousand tons a year, though at the same time no sow iron was imported."

It was soon discovered that the soil of Virginia would produce a good quality of flax. It seemed to the settlers also that in the water flag, a prolific plant in that section, they had found a fibre which would prove as satisfactory as the fibre of flax. This plant, when boiled, yielded a fibre that, for strength and length, seemed quite as good as the fibre of the flax plant. Some of this fibre was shipped to England, and is said to have proved to be of excellent quality. It seemed not unlikely that the new colony would be able to furnish flax and linen sufficient to meet the demands of the mother country. In spite, however, of the certainty that flax could be made a profitable crop, it was cultivated only after a desultory fashion. The General Assembly, in 1646, became interested in the growth of flax and the manufacture of linen, and authorized the construction of two houses in Jamestown, which were to be used for the manufacturing of linen. Two children were to be secured from each county and brought to this home, where they were to be instructed in the art of manufacturing linen. Every possible precaution was taken that the children procured under this enactment should be carefully and adequately provided for in all matters of food, apparel and shelter. It remained, however, for Captain Matthews, who lived on the lower James, to furnish an example of what might be done in the growth of flax and the manufacture of linen. He had a number of servants and slaves who were spinners of flax. In 1687 Colonel Fitzhugh congratulated him in a letter upon the success he had achieved in this enterprise. He also commends him as an example to the other planters of the colony.

When Lord Culpeper was made Governor in 1682, he undertook in a more elaborate way than had ever been done, to encourage the manufacture of linen and to regulate many matters incident thereto. It was sought by legislation to compel

every tithable to produce at least two pounds of flax and one pound of hemp, or two pounds of hemp and one pound of flax. As a further inducement it was provided that there should be paid out of the public levy two pounds of tobacco for every pound of flax or hemp grown, and six pounds of tobacco for every ell of linen cloth. There were to be certificates accompanying all claims before this reward could be received. This statute did not remain in operation more than three years, and was repealed in 1685. The dissatisfaction with the enactment seems to have grown out of the heavy burden it imposed in the matter of the tobacco rewards. It was argued further that the people had made sufficient progress in the cultivation of hemp and manufacture of linen, and did not need the encouragement of the rewards.

The English government, however, never entertained the idea of the manufacture of either linen or woolen cloths in the colony with any degree of favor. The Englishmen were willing, to be sure, that Virginia should produce raw materials, but claimed for themselves the right and privilege of manufacture. However, the wishes of the English people did not greatly concern the colonists. They were rapidly learning that in many things they must look out for themselves, and that if it should prove profitable for them to manufacture into finished products their own raw materials, it would not be wise for them to hesitate to do so.

The act that was repealed in 1685 was re-enacted in 1693 with some modifications. This time the act provided that instead of the tobacco used for rewards being taken from the general levy, it was to be furnished by each county to its own growers. Under this new act three pounds of tobacco were to be given for every ell of manufactured linen. The linen was to be not less than three-quarters of a yard wide, nor less than fifteen yards in length. Three samples were re-

quired from each person claiming the reward. A special reward was offered of eight hundred pounds of tobacco for the piece of the best quality of linen; six hundred pounds for the second grade, and for the third grade four hundred pounds of tobacco were offered. This act remained in force until 1699.

In spite of all this, however, the colony never gave itself to any very general cultivation of flax. In 1698, in answer to a communication from the Governor, asking to what extent the linen had been manufactured in the county of Middlesex, it was answered that the quantity had amounted annually to about fifty yards. This may be fairly taken as an indication of the success that attended the effort to encourage the manufacture of linen. It ought to be understood, however, that in many instances each plantation was manufacturing enough linen for its own use. The Virginians were not slow to discover that it was easier and more profitable to sell tobacco and buy the linen than it was to manufacture linen.

In the manufacture of woolen goods the colonists met with even more stubborn resistance from the English manufacturers. It is somewhat amusing to note how the new country was exploited for nearly everything else imaginable, yet seriously deprecated in the matter of sheep husbandry and woolen industry. It was religiously asserted that the fact that God had denied sheep to Virginia was an indication that the settlers ought not to fly in the face of Providence and undertake that which had already been provided for in the old country. There was, however, an evident determination among the colonists to provide woolen goods at least for their own use. So determined were they in this purpose that in 1659 an act was passed prohibiting the exportation of wool. It was felt that England was not providing clothing sufficient for the needs of the colony, and in 1666 the General Assembly determined to take some active steps in the encouragement

of woolen goods. Captain Matthews, Governor Berkeley and others had already shown that it was possible and profitable for the planters to furnish their own households and plantations with woolen goods. The court of each county was ordered by the General Assembly to establish a loom and to employ a weaver to work it in every county court town. It was later provided that the different counties should build houses in which the children of poor parents should be assembled, and were to be taught to spin and weave as well as to learn other trades.

Under the exceeding pressure brought to bear from the old country, in 1671 the statute prohibiting the exportation of wool was repealed. It was, however, re-enacted again in 1682. The Virginians declared that the manufacture of woolen goods was absolutely necessary for the use of the colony, and besides advantageous, in that it gave occupation to a large number of people.

The penalty for exporting wool or woolen goods was fixed at forty pounds of tobacco for every pound of these commodities shipped out of the country. A severe penalty was fixed against the ship that would carry in its cargo these woolen goods, the masters and seamen being deprived of their own goods and chattels and subject to a term of imprisonment.

It was also sought by the act of 1682 to encourage the manufacture of woolen goods in very much the same way as it had been sought to encourage the manufacture of linen. Six pounds of tobacco were offered to every person who would bring into the court of the county in which he resided a yard of woolen cloth three-quarters of a yard wide. These acts seem to have been measurably successful, and the attention of the planters in general was directed to the policy of at least manufacturing for their own requirements woolen goods. The opposition from England continued, and every sort of ex-

pedient was resorted to in order that the manufacture of woolen goods might be made burdensome and unprofitable. After all, however, the acts of Parliament did not seriously affect the Virginians, because they really had no purpose to enter into the manufacture of woolen goods beyond the supplying of their own needs; and while the colonists continued to manufacture woolen stuffs, it was usually of the coarser quality, mainly for the use of their servants and slaves. All finer woolen stuffs were always imported from England.

The Virginians of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries did not leave behind them their taste and appetite for wines and liquors, and it was very early suggested to them that they might manufacture their own wines instead of importing them at great cost from England. Indeed, it was even imagined that wine might be produced not only for home consumption, but for exportation as well. In a letter from the Governor and Council in Virginia to the company, in 1610, it was remarked that "in every boscage and common hedge, and not far from our Palisade gates were thousands of goodly vines running along the ground and climbing to every tree, which yielded plentiful grapes in their kind. Let me appeal, then, to knowledge if these natural vines were planted, dressed and ordered by skilful vinearones, whether we might not make a perfect grape and plentiful vintage in short time."

At two different times there was an exportation in casks of wine made in Virginia to England. In one instance it was claimed that the wine had been damaged in shipment and did not fairly represent the products of Virginia's vintage. In the other instance the wine never found any very great favor among Englishmen who were used to the finer qualities of wine. Except for individual and domestic use the cultivation of the grape for wine never assumed any very large or hopeful proportions.

It was said that Colonel Beverley planted a vineyard in which he took great pride, and told many stories of his expectations as to the possibilities of grape culture in the colony. It is said that on one occasion his wines were submitted to a gentleman from France, who, doubtless because he was a Frenchman, rendered a very neutral sort of a verdict with reference to the quality of the colonel's wines.

The Sainsbury manuscripts have a record of a solemn application made by a Mr. Russell to the London Company, offering to sell a recipe for making wine out of sassafras. He explained this discovery of his as a wine that had all the exhilarating properties of grape wine, without its inebriating quality. It turned out afterwards that he had only discovered the concoction of the later old Virginia mammies, a tea brewed from the roots of the sassafras, and considered a cure for all the ills incident to the spring time. Mr. Russell wanted the modest sum of £1,000 for his recipe, with a small royalty from its future manufacture.

Another benevolent gentleman announced with very amusing naivete that there was a drink to be made from Indian corn that greatly surpassed the products of the breweries in England. One wonders if aforetime this gentleman had stumbled into the process of making what is known in these latter days as the moonshine article of corn whiskey. If he did, there are numerous successors to him who would doubtless be willing to testify that they had rather have it than any liquors brewed in old England.

In addition to the things that have been suggested, there was an attempt, not altogether unsuccessful, in the manufacture of leather, and for a number of years great interest was taken in the manufacture of hides and even of the finer quality of leather. This was done, however, mainly for home consumption, and there are evidences that the rougher quality

of shoes were manufactured in Virginia, and mainly by the individual planters on their own plantations. The General Assembly, as in the case of other attempts in manufacturing, became greatly interested in the manufacture of leather, and passed various regulations governing all phases of the industry. Laws were passed prohibiting the exportation of hides and skins, both tanned and untanned. In the act for ports, passed in 1691, but really never put into operation, an export duty was laid on all leather and furs that were sent from the colony. This was really the repeal of the act forbidding the exportation of leather and furs. In 1693 it was sought by these export taxes on leather and furs to increase the endowment of William and Mary College. A tax of threepence per pound was put on every raw hide, sixpence on tanned hides, and one penny and three farthings on dressed buckskin, and one penny on every undressed buckskin.

In conclusion, it can be said that while many of these attempts at manufacture seemed to be impossible and ludicrous, they were, after all, prophetic of the possibilities of this great continent and of the later achievements of our great American industries. Under primitive conditions and by the use of crude methods, these early settlers were attempting in miniature, things that have been realized in very large ways since their day. They made scarcely a single effort in any direction but that in these later days has been made marvelously successful.

CHAPTER XIX.

POLITICS IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA.

It has already been related how the members of the London Company in England were divided into political factions. One faction favored a popular government; the other faction was in strong sympathy with the Kings in their contention for the divine right. For a long while the latter faction seems to have had most influence in the control of the affairs of the company, but in 1619 the Southampton faction came into control and a liberal policy toward Virginia was inaugurated and steadfastly pursued. A part of that policy was the establishment of the House of Burgesses in Virginia.

On the repeal of the charter of the London Company Virginia became a royal province, but the King allowed the General Assembly to remain as a fixed institution, and for this reason the interests of the colony were usually well guarded. Frequently, however, the Governors undertook to override the actions of the Assembly, and the King reserved to himself, and, after 1684, to the commissioners of the plantations in England, the right to disapprove of laws passed by the General Assembly. There were just enough men in Virginia who had secured their lands by grants directly from the King to form a party, and who sympathized with the Kings, and who generally supported the Governors in many of their high-handed actions. Generally speaking, therefore, the political contest in Virginia from 1624 to 1776 was one in which the people were arraigned against the Governors of the royal party.

In noting the development of the liberties of Virginia, one observes that the suffrage basis for the first House of Burgesses was a liberal one, for this assembly was elected by the citizens. For fifty-one years this basis continued to exist, but under the influence of Berkeley, in 1670, the right of suffrage was dislodged from this broad basis, and only freeholders were permitted to exercise its prerogative. This law limiting the suffrage of the people to the freeholders was repealed by the Bacon Assembly, but the royal Governors who followed did not hesitate to take up the fight and to contend that the right of suffrage should not be extended to all freemen, but should be limited to freeholders. Finally, in 1705, suffrage by legislation was restricted to freeholders. No definite statement, however, was made as to how much land a freeholder should own. Governor Spotswood afterward complained very bitterly to the commissioners of plantations in England that any man who owned as much as a half acre of land could vote in Virginia, and that frequently the elections were controlled by a worthless set who had little real interest in the affairs of the colony.

The King had instructed Berkeley fifty years before to have suffrage restricted, and now the commissioners of plantations and the King brought further influence to bear and sought to restrict even more narrowly the right of suffrage. Finally, after the expiration of forty years more, it was decided that no man should vote unless he owned fifty acres of land with a house on it, or a house and lot in town, or one hundred acres of unimproved land. Thus was inaugurated the freehold system of suffrage, which continued in force in Virginia until 1830. This was eminently satisfactory to the aristocratic class, and during the colonial days especially we find that the large planters felt that because of their position and influence the control of all the affairs of the colony should be held in their own hands.

Another matter of interest with reference to the politics of colonial Virginia was the basis of representation in the House of Burgesses. In the early days, following the English custom of two knights for a shire, it was decreed that each plantation should have two representatives. When the plantation system was abolished and the counties were formed in 1634, the same principle was applied, and each county was allowed two members in the House of Burgesses. This basis of representation continued as the law until 1830. It was really a travesty on representative government, for by the time of the Revolution it often happened that one large county had a population from ten to twenty times as great as a smaller county, and by 1830 the white population was from thirty to forty times as great in some of the larger counties as that of the smaller counties. Toward the middle and close of the eighteenth century this fact created considerable dissatisfaction in the larger counties. But more important matters engaged the mind of the people of politics until after the Revolution had been accomplished.

A matter of common discussion during the whole colonial period was the question of taxation. All tobacco exported from the colony was taxed twopence per pound, and all lands under the system of land tenure were supposed to be held for the crown, and rents were raised on these lands for the benefit of the King and his government. In addition to this the counties were divided into parishes, and in each parish every person over sixteen years of age, black or white, was regarded as a tithable, and had to pay a poll tax to the vestry of the parish for the support of the church.

The navigation laws, which required goods to be shipped in any vessel to English ports, constituted, in a sense, a system of indirect taxation which was always oppressive and exceedingly obnoxious to the people. Every one of these laws were resisted by the people in one form or another. The fron-

tier county objected to the quit rents; the planter objected to the tax on tobacco and the navigation laws; and those who were not adherents of the established church were stubbornly opposed to the system of tithes. Just as to-day the question of taxation is the most serious problem with which our legislators have to deal, so it was in colonial days.

Another matter of interest was the constant discussion created by the large land grants made by the King. The King granted continuously large grants of land to his favorites, and the last favorite often received a grant covering the land already occupied or previously granted to some one else. There was a constant confusion and discussion as to whether this was just and right, and appeals were frequently made to the commissioners of plantations that this system should be abrogated.

In the early years of the colony, that is, before 1632, the usual grant was from fifty to one hundred acres, and the largest grant reported in 1632 was three hundred and fifty acres. But before the century was over it was not an uncommon thing for the King to hand out to one of his favorites twenty thousand acres at a time, and in the eighteenth century these munificent grants ran up to hundreds of thousands of acres. In this way the King created a sort of land monopoly. Of very special note was the grant to Lord Fairfax of a large territory of land out of which more than ten counties were carved.

Great discontent was created by the system in vogue for the local government in the county. There was a county court, composed of a number of justices of the peace, presided over by the chief magistrate. All of these individuals were appointed by the royal Governor, and they constituted a kind of close corporation, usually holding office indefinitely. The only real county official was the high sheriff, whose duty it

was to see that the laws were inforced, collect all taxes, and act as treasurer of the county. As a rule, the chief magistrate was appointed sheriff whenever a vacancy occurred. The county government was entirely in the hands of the Governor, and while representatives of the people in the Assembly might meet and discuss measures and pass laws, the county officials, who were in sympathy with the Governor, being his appointees, would often arrogantly ignore the plain acts of the Assembly. Hence it was very difficult, in any case in which the government was involved, to secure justice.

If there ever existed in Virginia political rings, it was in the early days of the colonial period. Even in matters of justice in the higher courts, the Governor occupied the same centre of influence and power. The Supreme Court of the colony was made up of all the members of the Council, who were appointed by the King in England. These Councilors were usually appointed on the recommendation of the Governor, since he was the representative of the King in Virginia, and was supposed to be acquainted with the best men who should constitute the Council of the State.

All questions of appeal made to the Council were naturally settled in favor of the King, or according to the wish of the Governor.

The whole matter of colonial government reduced itself to a condition in which practically all the affairs of the government were either directly or indirectly in the hands of the Governor, except that all laws which passed through the General Assembly had also to be passed upon by the House of Burgesses, who were the only officials elected by popular vote. But even here the Governor had great influence, not only because of his superior position, but because of the fact that it depended upon him as to what time the writs of election should be issued for a House of Burgesses. He had a right

to dissolve the House of Burgesses at will. In case of a dissolution he could order a new election when he thought best. Though the Governors had so much power their official life was by no means easy, for the people of Virginia were constantly complaining and were making constant appeals to the commissioners of plantations. These appeals were an incessant source of annoyance to the Governors.

Whenever the people had the privilege of voting for Burgesses, they showed their will in many ways not at all pleasing to the Governor. Sometimes they openly violated the laws in force governing elections by preventing a sheriff who was friendly to the Governor from making what they thought would be improper returns, or by winning the sheriff over to their way of thinking, thus securing padded returns in their favor. On the other hand, it is not to be forgotten that the sheriff often made wrong returns in order that his friends or the Governor's friends might stay in the Assembly. It is very interesting indeed to look into these colonial elections and to discover the method which prevailed then, and to compare them with the elections as they are held to-day.

As to election methods in colonial days we are not able to determine how the people voted in 1619. There was at that time no sheriff, but it was reported that the Burgesses were elected by the freemen, who met on the plantations and decided that certain men were to become their Burgesses. It is probable that the first elections were conducted by counting heads.

On the establishment of counties, the elections were put into the hands of the sheriff, who had to give notice of the elections to be held to all the citizens of their respective counties. So when the sheriff received a writ from the Governor authorizing an election, he had to send out riders to inform the people of the time when elections were to be held at the

courthouse. In 1655 a law was passed requiring the sheriff and his deputies to give notice within ten days after the receipt of the writ from the Governor. Notice was to be given from house to house to all persons interested in the election. This was a great burden upon the sheriff, especially in view of the fact that the counties were very large, many smaller counties having since been made from them. As a matter of fact the sheriff seldom performed his duty fully. It was the sheriff's duty, likewise, to hold the election and make the returns, showing what persons had been elected, said returns to be made to the office of the secretary of the colony before the meeting of the Assembly. If in any way the sheriff failed to do his duty, he was to be fined one thousand pounds of tobacco. In making these returns the sheriffs were often inclined to proceed illegally.

The first act of illegal proceedings in connection with an election is to be found in Hening's "Statutes," in the year 1661, at which time one Walter Bacon, high sheriff of New Kent, was fined for "undue proceedings" in the election in his county. In 1662 the method of notifying the people was changed, and the sheriff was requested, on receiving a writ, to give a copy of the same to every minister and reader in every parish in his county. The ministers or readers were requested by law to announce for two successive Sundays preceding the election the time of holding the election. Thus the church was used as a means by which to inform voters of the right they had to select members for the House of Burgesses.

It is interesting to note also that when a Governor issued a writ for elections, the law required that the secretary of the colony should provide for prompt delivery, and that the same should be sent out at least forty days before the time for the Assembly to meet. The method of voting was viva voce. This method was frequently ignored by electors who lived at

a great distance from the courthouse, and often they would subscribe their names on a piece of paper, indicating for whom they voted, and send the same to the courthouse by some elector who attended the election. One can imagine an elector standing for hours in a path leading through the woods waiting to catch a voter who would carry his vote to the courthouse. The sheriff accepted this ballot, so to speak, and entered it on the poll books. By an act of 1646 this practice was positively forbidden, and all voters were required to go to the courthouse on election day and vote viva voce. Many years after a law was passed to fine every voter who did not appear and exercise the right of suffrage.

No special provisions were made for conducting these elections until the year 1699. It was then provided that when all the voters assembled, if it could not be determined upon view of the freeholders who was elected, that the sheriff should proceed to select as many clerks as he thought best. These clerks were to set down in writing the names of each freeholder and the person for whom he should vote. If the candidates, or any one of them, should require it, the freeholder had to swear that he was a qualified voter under the law. When the vote had been completed, the returns were made to the secretary of the colony. The sheriff was also required to give a copy to each candidate if he was so requested to do. If the sheriff refused to take the polls according to law, or to give copies to the candidates, or to give legal notice, or if he made false returns, or if he made no returns, or if he made the returns in a form not prescribed by law, for each and every offense he was to be fined £40. This law seemed satisfactory so far as the elections were concerned, but there was so much delay about the delivery of the writs and the proper notice of elections that the Assembly, in 1705, passed a law to remedy this trouble. First, the

writ was to be signed by the Governor and delivered by him to the secretary of the colony at least forty days before the time appointed for the meeting of the Assembly. Second, the secretary had to deliver the writs within ten days after their receipt to the sheriff. Third, the sheriff had to send copies of the writs within three days to the ministers and readers of the parishes in his county, for them to read in their churches for two successive Sundays. Fourth, the method of taking the poll was the same as provided for in the act of 1699. This remained the form of conducting elections until the adoption of the Constitution in 1776. Even after the Commonwealth had been established the viva voce method continued until 1867. But with the adoption of the Constitution in 1776, and the disestablishment of the church, the ministers and readers in the parishes were not required to promulgate the time of the elections. As a definite time for holding elections in each county had been fixed by law, this method for giving notice was not necessary.

On the day of the election throughout colonial days, as far as we are able to judge, the candidates or their agents were always present at the courthouse. They usually sat on the hustings in the court-room, where they could hear how each voter polled. The candidate voted for, on hearing his name called, was accustomed to rise and bow his thanks to the voter who had honored him. At the opening of the polls each candidate usually made a speech, stating what measures he would advocate. If he had been a member of the previous Assembly, he would explain the course that he had pursued in that body. If any voter was to be challenged, the candidate or his agent would prevent the sheriff from having his name recorded at the time he was casting his vote. This viva voce method seems to have been entirely satisfactory in colonial days, and we discover very little desire for the ballot system. We are

told that the Norfolk borough used the ballot system to elect members to the Convention in 1775, and as far as the writer has been able to discover, it is the first instance recorded of anything of the kind in Virginia.

As to the place of elections it is recalled that the first elections were held on plantations, but in 1645 it was declared that all elections should be held at the courthouse in the respective counties, unless by act of the Assembly other places were designated. In towns the privilege was given to hold elections under the direction of the Mayor. It is interesting to observe that the inhabitants of Norfolk borough not only voted for Burgesses from the borough, but also for Burgesses from Norfolk county. This system of holding elections at the courthouses continued in force until 1830, though by special acts of the Legislature, between 1776 and 1830, about seventy-five separate places for election other than the courthouse had been established. The elections held in special voting places were put into the hands of five commissioners appointed by the county court. The voter was allowed to vote in any place, provided he voted only once in any election in any one county; but he could vote in as many counties as he owned property.

As to the time of elections, before 1775 it was absolutely indefinite. Whenever the Governor thought proper to dissolve an Assembly and to issue a writ for an election, he could do so, and the sheriff announced the time in his own county which he would set for an election. For this reason the writs had to be read in the churches. It is probable that the elections were held in Virginia at intervals of from three to seven years, if one can judge from the list of Burgesses given in Hening's "Statutes" and in the "Virginia Magazine of History." In 1775, however, the Virginia Convention declared that elections should be held annually at the court-

houses of the respective counties. In the first Virginia Constitution this same principle was incorporated. Since the court days of each county were taken as election days, the system was very different from that in vogue at the present time, when the elections are held on the same day throughout the State. In other words, the Virginia custom was that which prevailed in England, where each shire holds its own election at a time which is fixed upon by the sheriff as the most suitable.

The time at which the polls were to be open was twelve o'clock in the day, after the freeholders had assembled and discussed among themselves the general political situation and the policies that should be carried out in the Assembly. As soon as all the freeholders present had voted, the sheriff would announce the fact at the door of the courthouse that the polls would be closed, after which he would wait for a short while, and if no other voter presented himself, the list was then made up and the report sent off. This proved unsatisfactory and was changed so that the polls had to be kept open until sundown, and if more voters appeared than could be listed by sunset, then the election was to continue on the following day. In case of bad weather the polls were to be kept open for three days, so that voters from different parts of the county might be able to appear and have an opportunity to cast their vote. The modern critics of our present method of holding elections often think that our political methods are more corrupt to-day than they were in colonial days, but if the old records are to be relied upon, men made every effort to be elected by short cuts and otherwise at that time just as they do to-day.

The first mention of anything bordering on corruption is the statement that a gentleman offered himself as a candidate for a seat in the House of Burgesses on the agreement that

if he were elected he would not ask from the county the usual stipend of tobacco that was given by the county to a representative. It was an appeal to the people to vote for a man who would represent them for the smallest sum. In 1699 the Assembly enacted a law that "No person or persons hereafter to be elected as a Burgess or Burgesses, shall directly or indirectly, by any ways or means at his or their proper charge before his or their election, give, present, or allow to any person or persons having a voice or vote in such elections, any money, meat, drink, or provisions, or make any present, gift, reward, or entertainment, or any promise, engagement, or obligation, to give or allow any meat, money, drink or provisions, present, reward, or entertainment, in order to procure the vote or votes of such person or persons for his or their election to be a Burgess or Burgesses. And every person or persons so giving, presenting, or allowing, making, promising, or engaging any money, meat, drink, or provisions, in order to procure such election, being elected shall be incapable to sit and act as a Burgess in that Assembly, but that such election shall be void to all intents and purposes as if the said returns or election had never been made."

Evidently there was some fraud and bribery being done in the elections. Governor Spotswood, about fifteen years afterward, complained very bitterly of the fact that there were many brawls and much corruption on election days because of the actions of the voters. We find statements in 1752 of contested elections. We are told that on the day of election in a certain county the wife of a candidate sent to the courthouse a hogshead of punch, which was placed within one hundred yards of the courthouse door. This hogshead was put in charge of a negro slave, who invited all persons passing that way to partake freely of this punch. The said candidate was duly elected, and upon being questioned concerning this

matter, deposed that his wife had done this without his sanction and approval, and that the negro had invited persons to drink before the election without the wife's sanction and approval, it having been her purpose to invite all, whether his friends or opponents, to freely partake after the polls had been closed. The Committee on Elections of the House of Burgesses reported that the Burgess was excused, and he was not expelled from the House. In the same year, however, two worthy representatives, John Chiswell and John Syme, elected from the county of Hanover, were expelled from the House because they had treated voters throughout the county in their effort to secure their election. Again, in 1775, we find the charge of procuring votes by treating brought against Henry Lee, of Prince William. He acknowledged the same and was expelled. The charge was brought against a delegate from Elizabeth City county, but he was excused. In 1756 George Washington was elected a member of the House of Burgesses from the county of Frederick. The previous year he had stood for election and had been defeated through the influence of a tavern keeper. At the time of the second election he was not present in the county, but Colonel James Wood, then clerk, acted as his representative and agent. After the election he presented to Mr. Washington a bill for £39, 6s., expenses for the election. Some of the items were a hogshead and a barrel of punch, thirty-five gallons of strong cider, and dinner for those who voted for Washington. About this same time a very strenuous law was passed against treating at elections. Doubtless Mr. Washington felt that he had been guilty of a very serious offense; anyhow, we never again hear of any such accusation against Washington himself.

There were many other contested cases in which the charge of treating was the main point involved. The contested election of Danridge vs. Littlepage, in 1764, in which Patrick

Henry was counsel for the plaintiff, was a similar case. An interesting case also was the case of Nash vs. Marable, in which it was shown that Marable had paid men to conduct all men who voted for him to a bar, where all the voters were treated at Marable's expense. He was expelled from the House and Nash was seated in his stead. To treat became so common that the very best men in the colony had to indulge in it in order to be elected. We are told that James Madison failed to be elected in the House of Delegates in 1777 because he refused to treat. There was a strong opposition to this method of procedure, and many of the best people in the State, about the time of the Revolution, tried earnestly to break it up. An interesting petition, begging the Legislature to pass a severe law which would forbid treating, is preserved by Bishop Meade in his "Old Churches and Families of Virginia." The petition was signed by Edward Pendleton and many others. The newspapers also begged the citizens to vote for the best men, and not to be influenced in any way by the hospitality which might be extended by some of the candidates. Nevertheless we know that for a long time the custom continued to exist in Virginia—practically as long as the courthouses were the centres at which the elections were held—the successful candidates, after the election was over, remaining at the courthouses for several days, treating their friends promiscuously.

We are, therefore, justified in concluding that so far as elections were concerned in Virginia, whether the electors were freeholders, housekeepers, or ordinary freemen, the question has always been raised as to whether the elections were fairly conducted and were free from corruption. We are probably safe in assuming that colonial politics were somewhat tainted, and that family influence and bribery were not altogether absent. Even with restricted suffrage and with the elections

held under the viva voce system and at infrequent intervals, there were frequent disturbances at the polls, resulting in fisticuffs or a duel, followed by much drinking and treating after the election, not to mention what was done immediately before the election by the friends and agents of the candidates.

Inside the legislative body there were always rings, chiefly considering the personal interest of some individual as opposed to the interest of the entire colony. The one redeeming feature was that when the politicians came to deal with the broad questions which affected the relation of the colony to the mother country or the governmental powers exercised by the Governor as a royal representative, a majority of the Burgesses took a high position for liberty, an attitude which resulted in the rejecting by Virginia and the people of America of kingly government, of privileged orders or institutions savoring of nobility, of the primogeniture and entailed systems, and of an established church. Thus out of the chaotic conditions and conflicting factions has been realized a republican form of government.

CHAPTER XX.

THE COLONIAL GENTLEMAN.

The question as to how far the society of the Virginia Colony was affected by the presence of so large a poor and serving class has been passed upon in previous chapters, the conclusion being that to no appreciable extent was any impression made by this class of people. Many of these, to be sure, came to places of usefulness and respectability, but only a few of them achieved any social or political distinction.

The Virginia colonial gentleman was very much the same sort of a man as he was on the Hudson or in New England. Mr. Thacker, in his "Recollections of Old Plantation Life," describing the visitors to his father's home, says:

"Among them were jolly old Virginia gentlemen, eccentric old Virginia gentlemen, prosy old Virginia gentlemen, courtly old Virginia gentlemen, plain-mannered old Virginia gentlemen, charming old Virginia gentlemen and uninteresting old Virginia gentlemen, many of them graduates of William and Mary College."

It is to be observed that, however differently endowed these visitors were, all of them seemed entitled to the name of gentlemen. Doubtless these were in line of true succession to the first gentlemen of the colony.

There can be no doubt but that there was such a class of men in the colony who were entitled to the name of gentlemen as a social distinction. This does not mean necessarily that they were of noble lineage or that they always carried

themselves in appreciation of the fact that they were gentlemen, but it does mean that there was in the heterogeneous society of the colony men of such ancestry, influence and culture as separated them from other classes, and to whom was accorded the name of gentlemen. Why there should be any disposition to offer any contention about this fact seems hard to understand. There does not seem to be any desire on the part of any one to claim any more for the Virginia gentleman than for other gentlemen of other colonies or of other days. There is, however, to be discovered in certain literature an insistence more or less pronounced that the Virginia gentleman is not entitled to all that has been claimed for him. The truth is that in some quarters the Virginia gentleman seems to be hard to account for. Just how, under colonial conditions, there could have existed such a personage, creates a demand on the part of some for philosophic explanation. The fact remains, however, that there was indeed such a personage as the Virginia gentleman, a historical entity in the annals of colonial Virginia.

One of the things that seems difficult to account for in the Virginia gentleman is that in many instances he was really a cultivated man, and of him is frequently asked the astonishing question, "Whence knoweth this man letters?" Mr. Gordon McCabe evidently had this in mind when he wrote:

"The product was here, for the number of educated Virginians was large as compared with such persons in other colonies, but the machinery appeared to be wanting. And in a country peopled with men of high culture (for that time), where there was great political knowledge and experience, the educational function can hardly be traced. The fact remains, however, that the list of the Revolutionary leaders in Congress and State politics, from 1765 to 1799, would be very

much less in number and membership were the Virginians to be stricken from it."

Allusion has been made from time to time in the course of these chapters to the number of colonists taking part in the affairs of the colony in one way or another, who were graduates of Oxford and Cambridge in the old country, and also to the large number who received academic training at the William and Mary College at Williamsburg, and others still who had been sent back to the mother country to receive academic instruction and training at Oxford and Cambridge. Bishop Meade calls attention to the fact that in these times no man could receive ordination in the Church of England, generally speaking, without having a degree from Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin or Edinburgh, and also that there were lawyers in the colony who had studied at the Temple Bar, in London, and physicians practicing medicine who bore diplomas from Edinburgh.

There was scarcely a home of any pretensions among the planters but that books of a fine and solid sort could be found. In the earlier part of the eighteenth century libraries, "comprehensive in subject and extensive for that period," became quite numerous. Colonel William Byrd's library at Westover numbered nearly four thousand volumes. Mr. Ralph Wormely, at Rosegille, had a library of four hundred titles, and Mr. Richard Lee's library numbered three hundred titles. Large libraries were owned by Randolph, George Mason and John Herbert, and a Mr. Mercer's library numbered fifteen hundred volumes. And so throughout the colony books were to be found of solid worth and comprehensive in scope. A writer in the "Virginia Magazine of History" may be quoted as saying:

"The study of our old county records has thrown light on many subjects connected with our history, but in no in-

stance has a greater revision of former opinion been caused than in regard to books and reading. Northern and English writers were used to saying that the Virginians were brave and hospitable, but given up to the pleasures of the field and card table and race track, and almost entirely without acquaintance with books."

A study of the county records shows a vast number of books appraised by executors or mentioned in wills, all of which indicating that the Virginia gentleman was a much more widely read man than he has been commonly supposed to have been. There can be no doubt but that if the Virginia gentleman had turned his attention to literature instead of politics, there would have been as many progenitors of American literature in Virginia as there were in the New England colonies. There is small doubt but that there were quite as many in the Virginia Colony endowed by nature and equipped by training for a work of this sort as could have been found elsewhere at that time and under similar conditions. But their energies were turned in other directions, and the contribution of the Virginia gentleman was in the political construction of a new government. Even as it was, there are a few instances where really valuable contributions were made to American literature and under circumstances that were not propitious for such work.

An author signing himself "T. M.," whose identity has never been thoroughly well established, though he is supposed to have been Thomas Matthews, a son of the Governor of that name, wrote "The Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion" in the years 1775 and 1776. Then, in 1676, a hundred years before the Revolution, there is a very admirable production by Mrs. Anne Cotton, of Q Creek. Mr. Esten Cooke speaks of her as a "shadow." Her work was entitled "An Account of Our Late Troubles in Virginia." "A

A Famous Colonial Home—Westover.

The Home of Wm. Byrd.

Narrative of the Indian and Civil Wars in Virginia in the Years 1675-1676," is by an author absolutely unknown. Two valuable histories of Virginia were produced in the first half of the eighteenth century by Robert Beverley, published in 1705, and one by William Stith, published in 1747. Mr. Beverley's history is valuable mainly for the fact of its thorough treatment of the political and economic conditions of society in Virginia. He was a most patriotic Virginian, but he dealt with characters and conditions under his treatment with perfect candor and frankness.

Mr. Stith was a professor at William and Mary College. His work is considered a most valuable contribution to the history of colonial days. His sincere desire for accuracy won for him the name of "The Accurate Stith." He had planned to write a complete history of Virginia, but for some reason he never succeeded in carrying out his purpose. Perhaps the most brilliant contribution to the literature of the day was by Hon. William Byrd, of Westover, a Virginia gentleman of exceeding fine culture and of charming and winsome social gifts. He is described as "one of the brightest stars in the social skies in Virginia," and as having had "personal beauty, elegant manners, literary culture and the greatest gayety of disposition." His style is exuberant, piquant and unconscious, thoughtless and careless of what critics might say, or as to how his productions might be received. His writings have been preserved under the title of "The Westover Manuscripts." The longest of his productions is "The History of the Dividing Line." It is the story of his journey and labor in connection with the fixing of the boundaries between Virginia and North Carolina. This writing bristles with wit and humor, and is a thoroughly vigorous and wholesome book. In much the same vein he wrote afterwards "The Journey to the Land of Eden," and still later "Progress to the Mines."

If space permitted, mention might be made of earlier writings on the part of the Englishmen associated with the establishment of the first English colony in America, and of other writings at later dates by Virginians. In these sporadic contributions there can at least be discovered suggestions of what the Virginia gentleman might have done in literature had he been so minded.

Perhaps the most distinguishing attribute of the colonial gentleman was his cheerful and assiduous hospitality. It may be the conditions surrounding him are to be credited with the necessity that called for the cultivation of the grace of hospitality. The lapses in the neighborhoods of the settlement were very great, and ordinarily homes were widely removed from one another. Mails were irregular and infrequent. Facilities for travel and intercommunication were very meagre, so that any contact with the outer world became an interesting episode in the lives of the people. These conditions made hospitality not only necessary, but transformed it into an exceeding great privilege. It was pleasant to have around the table and the evening hearthstone any one who brought tidings of the outer world. Mr. Beverley says: "The inhabitants were very courteous to travelers, who needed no other recommendation than the fact of being a human creature. A stranger has but to inquire upon the road where any gentleman or good housekeeper lives, and there he may depend upon being received with hospitality. This good nature is so general among the people that the gentry, when they go abroad, order their principal servants to entertain all visitors with everything the plantation affords. And the poor planter who has but one bed will often sit up all night or lie upon the floor or couch to make room for a weary traveler after his journey."

There are numerous and most entertaining accounts of where whole families would enjoy for weeks, and even months,

at a time the hospitality of another household. It is related how, in their eagerness for entertainment, the heads of establishments would place at convenient points upon the country road dusky messengers who were to press entertainment and hospitality upon any one who chanced to pass that way. This hospitality was as affluent as it was cordial. The Virginian had gotten far away from the hardships of the earlier years of the colonial life, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century the saying of Mr. Berkeley was very likely altogether true that "the Colony of Virginia was the most flourishing country the sun ever shone over."

A wonderful change had taken place since the first days of the great plantations. Luxury and plenty had taken the place of discomfort and want. There was produced on the plantation well-nigh everything that ministered to bodily comfort and ease. Food there was in rich and varied profusion; luxuries, such as books, wines, silks and laces were exchanged at the planter's wharf for his tobacco, so that the cost of hospitality was never taken into account, and the obligations, if there were any, seemed to be on the part of the host rather than the guest. Even under the changed conditions that have come about since the great Civil War, it is hard for the impoverished Virginian to forget the kindly trick of hospitality. Even to-day a stranger may knock at nightfall at well-nigh any rural home, and if any reasonable account can be given of himself he is sure to be received and the cordial, if not the affluent, hospitality of the elder day bestowed upon him.

The colonial gentleman was a man of exuberant spirits, and great attention was given to the finding of avenues for its expression and expenditure. After the long years of hardships and sufferings there followed an era of unusual and extraordinary freeness and gaiety. The opening years of the

eighteenth century have truly been designated as the golden age of Virginia. They are alluded to more than any other days as "the good old times." The arrangement of the society and the conditions of industrial and commercial life were such as to afford large time and opportunity for the pursuit of pleasure. During the winter months a large number of planters went to Williamsburg and indulged in an incessant round of gaieties of one sort and another. There was the social life and the fine social functions incident to the annual meeting of the Grand Assembly. There the theatre was brought and companies from London presented to the colonial gentleman Shakespeare and Congreve for his instruction and entertainment. There were the colonial balls, given at frequent intervals, in the famous Apollo apartment in the Raleigh Tavern. A glimpse of this joyous and happy and careless life is to be seen in the early letters of Jefferson, where he tells of the escapades of the college boys and of the throbbing streets, and the balls at the Raleigh Tavern, in which he and his dear Belinda danced the happy hours away.

Not all of the amusements indulged in by the colonial gentleman were free from the criticisms of coarseness and cruelty. There was a favorite entertainment furnished by a cruel game that was called gouging. Two combatants engaged one another in muscular contest, the main purpose of which was to gouge an eye out, and when once the strong fingers of a combatant's hand found the eyeball of the other, unless he cried "enough" and gave up the fight, he was apt to lose his eye as the reward of his foolish courage. It is said that certain men had their fingers and nails manicured in such a way as to increase their effectiveness in a conflict of this sort, the nails being carefully sharpened and toughened by some mysterious process known to the expert gougers of the day.

Cards and dice were also popular amusements, indulgence

in which sometimes amounted to a widespread craze. More than once the Grand Assembly felt that the widespread custom demanded official recognition and regulation. Debts for gambling could not be collected by any process of law, and keepers of taverns and public houses were forbidden, under severe penalty, to allow gambling in public places.

Horse-racing was considered the especial sport of the colonial gentleman. The development of the race-horse was very rapid. It was a long time before the colonial gentleman ever thought of the horse as being for drudgery, but considered him as an animal to afford them pleasure rather than profit, so that great pride was taken especially in the saddle-horse. Horseback riding was a universal accomplishment, both for the colonial gentleman and the colonial dame. One of the first signs of increased prosperity then, even as it is now, was the purchase of a horse by the colonial swain. It was natural that, with such a general pride in the horse, trials of excellence in speed and durability should follow. So it came about that horse-racing was the universal sport among the gentlemen of the day. There were certain aristocratic pretensions about the sport that received legislative recognition, and there were enactments governing the sport, excluding from it those who were not entitled to the name of gentlemen. There is a record in the court of York county where it is said that "James Bullock, a tailor, having made a race for his mare to run with a horse belonging to Matthew Slater, for two thousand pounds of tobacco and caske, it being contrary to law for a laborer to make a race, being a sport only for gentlemen, is fined for the same one hundred pounds of tobacco and caske," and the record proceeds to further state that "whereas Mr. Matthew Slater and James Bullock, by conditions under the hand and seal of the said Slater, that his horse should run out of the way so that Bullock's mare might win,

which is an apparent cheat, is ordered to be put in the stocks and there sit for one hour."

In 1730 it was very common for horses to be kept only for racing, and at many convenient places "race paths" were established. At Williamsburg there were elaborate arrangements made for the conduct of races twice a year, in the autumn and in the spring. Provisions were made for starters, judges and the usual regulations as to weights, handicaps of one sort and another. The course at Williamsburg was for the mile, two-mile, three-mile and even four-mile heats, it being plainly evident that the Virginian was seeking not simply the quality of speed, but the combined qualities of speed and durability in their racing stock.

Cockfighting was a general and gruesome pastime among the Virginia gentlemen, and great attention was given to the rearing of good fighting stock and great care given in its training. The sport seems to have been a very general one. The authorities at William and Mary College were obliged to legislate strenuously against the sport as practiced among the students. Mr. Cooke rescues from obscurity, and puts in the niche of fame, a breed of fighting cocks of the Spangles variety, which had been victors on many battlefields, and which were called "Bacon's Thunderbolts." We are disposed to hand this breed of bellicose roosters down to increased fame by making record of their name in this place.

As an indication of the spirit of the day in matters of sport and recreation, we give the following quotation from the "Gazette" of October, 1737, which announced that "there are to be horse-racing and several other diversions for the entertainment of the gentlemen and ladies at the Old Field. Besides the races there is to be given a hat to the value of two shillings to be cudgelled for, and that after the first challenge is made, the drum is to beat every quarter hour for a challenge

around the ring and not to be played with the left hands. A reward is offered for successful competitors in a musical competition in which twenty fiddles are to be used, and each fiddler is to play a different tune. Twelve boys are to run one hundred and twelve yards for a hat worth twelve shillings. A choir of ballads is to be sung for; a pair of silver buckles are to be wrestled for; the prettiest girl on the ground is to have a pair of handsome silk stockings, of one pistole's value." And it is added that "as this mirth is designed to be purely innocent and void of offense, all persons resorting there are desired to behave themselves with becoming sobriety."

The colonial Virginia gentleman may be commended for his gallantry. His treatment of woman was always with the highest consideration and the utmost courtesy. It is refreshing to read in these unceremonious days of the deferential treatment that characterized the mutual courses of the colonial gentleman and dame. While domestic felicity was unrestrained, the entire household was conducted upon a high plane of pronounced mutual regard and respect. Many of these deferential offices may seem, in this late day, unnecessary and artificial, and yet it is not hard to see how present domestic conditions might be greatly improved if there were practiced a little more of the ceremony indulged in by these builders of first American homes.

It is said that the Virginia gentleman was sometimes rather violent and insistent in his courtships. The story of Governor Nicholson's attempt at the hand of Mr. Louis Burwell's daughter is a case in point. She refused to capitulate to this gentleman's violent assault upon the citadel of her heart, and stubbornly refused his insistent overtures. He became furiously mad, and stormed and threatened in a most violent fashion, confiding even to Commissioner Blair his purpose to cut at least three throats if Miss Burwell ever consented to marry

any one other than himself. He supposed that this sanguinary outbreak on his part would result in the cutting of the throats of the bridegroom, the minister and the judge who issued the license. Nobody seemed especially afraid at this violent outbreak of the impetuous Governor, for it is a matter of record that Miss Burwell really did marry afterward other than His Excellency, and was forever afterwards happy.

The colonial gentleman seemed to have a penchant for widows. Some one, herself a woman, has called this "the period of belleship of widows." Washington, Jefferson and Madison all married widows. Even the stern Sir William Berkeley was taken captive by a young widow of Warwick county, known as Dame Francis Stevens. After Berkeley's death, being a widow again, with her usual prerogative, she entered into the state of matrimony with her late husband's secretary, Mr. Philip Ludwell, clinging, however, fast and fondly to the title of Lady Berkeley.

The marriageable age set for females in these colonial days was at a much more youthful period than is now thought wise and well. At ridiculously immature ages many colonial virgins took upon themselves the grave responsibilities of married life. A woman who had reached the mature age of twenty-five summers was looked upon askance and regarded as being peculiar, or else she would have married many years before. The great Chief Justice Marshall met his sweetheart when she was only fourteen years of age, and restrained his matrimonial ambitions and waited two long years for his bride, until she had reached the mature age of sixteen years.

In his religion, as in politics, the colonial gentleman was at least loyal to its outward institutions. In the main they were adherents and strong advocates of the Church of England. Some one has been put on record as having said to Mr. Madison that "a man might be a Christian in any church, but

a gentleman must belong to the Church of England." Frequently, of course, these gentlemen were genuinely religious, and were most piously devoted to the church and to its creed and benevolences, but frequently their devotion in these matters seems to have been strangely inconsistent with their practice in worldly affairs. It was characteristic of the devotion of the cavalier that while every act of his life might disallow and gainsay the creed of his church, there never was a time but that he was willing to lay down his life for her good and prosperity. It is stated as a matter resisted by the ecclesiastical authorities that many ceremonies usually discharged in the church were practiced in the homes of the people. The christening of children, the marriage ceremony and funeral services came more and more to be matters that were performed in the home rather than at the church. After the conditions of plantation life had obtained, the burial places of the dead were also removed from the church burial yards. Each family had usually its own burying ground contiguous to the homestead. Mr. Hugh Jones wrote: "It is customary to bury in gardens or orchards, where whole families lie interred together in a spot generally handsomely enclosed, planted with evergreens and the graves kept decently. Hence likewise arose the occasion for preaching funeral sermons in houses, where, at funerals, are assembled a great congregation of neighbors and friends. If you insist on having the services and ceremonies at the church, they say that they will be without them unless performed after this manner."

From the above description of the character and method of life of the colonial gentleman may be gotten a fairly good idea of him. Proud and somewhat pretentious, ceremonial in manner and speech, not without culture nor without sympathy for lofty ideals, kindly and democratic in his contact and dealing with his neighbors, however poor, hospitable to a most gen-

erous degree, fond of his family and gallant in his bearing toward the fair sex, interested in all public questions and participating in all affairs of State, fond of the field and its sports, in the earlier years of the colony loyal to his King, and a devout and devoted defender of his church and her creed. Perhaps no saner view was ever taken of him than is conveyed in these words of Mr. Fiske:

"On the whole it was a noble type of the rural gentry that the Old Dominion had to show. Manly simplicity, love of home and family, breezy activity, disinterested public spirit, thorough wholesomeness and integrity; such were the features of the society whose consummate flower was George Washington."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT.—1716-1774.

At the time of Bacon's Rebellion all of the settlements in Virginia were confined to the east of the line drawn from the present site of Alexandria, through Fredericksburg, Richmond and Petersburg, to the North Carolina line. In the year 1685 there were twenty counties in Virginia, with a population of about sixty thousand, six thousand of which were negro slaves, and about an equal number were indentured servants. Following the removal of Mr. Berkeley, in 1677, for fifty years Virginia had a succession of exceedingly fine Governors, and affairs moved along prosperously and smoothly except for the depression brought about by the effect of the navigation laws on the tobacco industry. So serious was the disaffection caused by this widespread depression that there were several tobacco insurrections which resulted in the crops of tobacco being cut in the fields, and in other disturbances in the colonies. The tobacco insurrection in the days of Governor Culpeper is especially to be noted. Two planters who took part in this insurrection were hanged.

As stated in a previous chapter, the land grant question was an important one in the politics of the day, and is mentioned here as a matter that seriously interfered with emigration. At first the land grants were made in the name of the London Company, but after 1623 they were made in the name of the Governor and Council. Each shareholder in the London Company was entitled, for each share subscribed to in the

company, to one hundred acres in the first distribution to be made along the James River, and was also entitled to have, for each share he owned, one hundred acres in a second distribution which might be made, after he had seeded a plantation.

In 1610 all quit rents against original shareholders were abolished. It was also provided that after a term of service in the colony, servants should receive one hundred acres of land. Every person who brought over settlers to Virginia would be granted fifty acres for each settler. This latter provision was not at all satisfactory, as often captains of ships claimed and secured fifty acres of land for each person who might sail in their ships, although they had nothing at all to do with the securing of such passengers.

But these provisions were all overlooked when Virginia came to be a royal province, and the King granted at will large tracts of land to his favorites, without reference to any provisions or settlements or even of assignments already made in these districts.

In 1710 there came to Virginia Alexander Spotswood, as Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, the Earl of Orkney being the Governor of the colony, a position which he held for forty years, during which time he never set foot in the Virginia Colony. The absence of the Governor was a source of regret to many of the colonists, though Spotswood himself, on the whole, was a very satisfactory Lieutenant-Governor, which position he held for twelve years. He was a trained soldier, having fought in the battle of Blenheim, under the great Duke of Marlborough, and where he was wounded.

At the time of Spotswood's arrival there were about twenty-five counties in Virginia, containing a population of seventy-five thousand whites and twenty-three thousand negroes. The colony could not be said to have been at that time

in a very prosperous condition. The price of tobacco was still very low, and the coasts were being constantly pillaged by pirates. These latter were soon after subdued and driven from the shores of Virginia.

In 1710 the settlement still had not passed the line marking the head of tidewater, except here and there along the streams that flowed into the river with tides. Some few brave pioneers, however, had pushed into the wilderness and explored as far as the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, where could be found the rude homes of some frontiersmen, but no white man had yet crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and looked into the imperial Valley of Virginia.

About the 1st of August, 1716, Governor Spotswood organized a band to explore the western country. He drove in his coach, accompanied by his staff on horseback, from Williamsburg to "Germanna," his country home, just above Fredericksburg, on the outskirts of the settled portion of Virginia. Here, on account of the fact that there were no roads to the west, he was compelled to leave his coach, and he and his band of some fifty-odd set out on horseback along the Rappahannock River, and after thirty-six days from Williamsburg they scaled the mountain near Swift Run Gap, and for the first time white men looked down upon the beautiful valley of the Shenandoah.

When Spotswood arrived in the colony, in 1710, he had written to the Council of Trades, in London, that some adventurers had found that the mountains were not more than one hundred miles from upper inhabitants, and that they had gone to the top of one of these mountains. At this time the valley was inhabited by the Shawnee Indians, whose tribes stretched back into the Ohio Valley. The valley was frequented by buffalo, bear, wolf and panther.

After Spotswood and his party had descended the moun-

tain and found a fordable place, they crossed to the west of the Shenandoah River and took possession of all the land in the name of the King. A most pleasing account of this adventure is given by Mr. John Fontaine in his diary. He said that they crossed the Shenandoah River on the 6th of September. He declared that the stones they met with were so hard that the Governor's engraving irons made no impression upon them, but that he engraved his name on a tree by the river, and the Governor buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which he wrote that he "took possession of this place in the name of King George I. of England." Fontaine tells of the dinner that they took together on the 6th of September in the following words:

"We had a good dinner, and after it we got the men together and drank the King's health in champagne, and fired a volley; the Prince's health in Burgundy, and fired a volley; and all the rest of the royal family in claret, and fired a volley. We drank the Governor's health and fired another volley. We had several sorts of liquor, viz.: Virginia red wines and white wines, Irish Usquebaugh brandy, shrub, two sorts of rum, champagne, canary, cherry, punch, cider, etc."

Evidently this was not a temperance campaign upon which these gentlemen had come. After eight weeks, which, we imagine, was not any too long a time for them to become thoroughly sober, the Governor and his party returned. Spotswood then established the Order of the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, and to each man he gave a horseshoe set with diamonds, and upon which were engraved the words "Sic juvat transcendere montes." Spotswood, on writing about this trip, said that the object of it was to see that the western lands, especially the English settlements, were protected against the French encroachments. He said that he discovered that it was but thirty-six days' journey to a great

nation of Indians, living on the river which discharged itself into Lake Erie, and that that lake could be seen from the western side of one of the smaller mountains which he saw, and the way thither was very practicable, and he advised that a settlement should be made there for the protection of the English settlements. At once all of this great country which had been seen by Spotswood was organized into the county of Spotsylvania, named in honor of the Governor. It extended from the head of tidewater on the Rappahannock River, across the mountains into Ohio. Glowing reports of this country were circulated, and in a few years settlers were trooping into the valley. One Adam Miller entered the valley in the year 1729.

Forty thousand acres of land, near where Winchester now stands, were granted by Governor Gooch, in 1730, to two Pennsylvania brothers—John and Isaac Van Meter. Their grant was bought by another Pennsylvanian, Joyst Hite, who removed his family to Virginia in 1732, and fixed his residence a few miles south of the present town of Winchester.

In 1638 there were two houses where Winchester now stands, and in 1752 there was organized a town. Settlers poured in very rapidly, and Staunton was settled about 1740. The county of Orange was soon carved out of the county of Spotsylvania. Later Augusta and Frederick were formed from Orange.

A dispute arose between Hite and Lord Fairfax, the latter claiming that all the land granted to Hite was included in his grant of the Northern Neck. Fairfax entered a caveat against Hite in 1736, which was followed by a suit against Lord Fairfax by Hite, which was not decided until 1786, long after the death of both Hite and Lord Fairfax had occurred. The judgment was rendered in favor of Hite and his vendees. The dispute, however, between Lord Fairfax and Hite greatly re-

tarded the settlement of the lower valley, and forced the settlers higher up the valley. The counties formed from or included in the grant made to Lord Fairfax were Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, Stafford, King George, Prince William, Fairfax, Loudoun, Fauquier, Culpeper, the present Rappahannock county, Madison, Page, Shenandoah and Frederick in Virginia, and Hardy, Hampshire, Morgan, Berkeley and Jefferson, in West Virginia.

The first houses of the settlers were log cabins, covered with split clapboards and with poles to keep them in place. The floors were frequently only of the earth. Later the hewn log house was introduced, and after awhile houses were made of boards sawed with a whipsaw. It was a long time before sawmills were introduced. The dress of these settlers who went to the valley was very different from that of the settlers of Eastern Virginia. It was altogether of homespun material. The settlers had few things that were imported from England. In colonial days the married men generally shaved their heads and wore wigs. About the time of the Revolution this custom was laid aside. Knee-breeches were in vogue, but the gentlemen in the western part of the State took to wearing long trousers long before they did in Eastern Virginia. The women used the short gown and petticoat made of the plainest material. The German element which came into the colony usually wore tight calico caps on their heads. In the summer season they wore no other clothes than a linen shift and petticoat, with bare feet, hands and arms. They worked in the harvest field with the men, and many of the women were the most expert reapers with the scythe. Not infrequently they followed also the plow. There were few slaves, if any, introduced into this section in colonial days. The barns in the valley were better than the houses in which the farmers dwelt. Among the poorer

class and the middle class their beds were of straw chaff, with a fine feather bed for the winter. The German and Dutch element in the valley proved to be most excellent and thrifty farmers.

In 1738 the settlers in the valley of the Scotch-Irish extraction requested the Governor to allow them to exercise their right of worship, claiming that they were absolutely loyal to the ruling house in England. The Governor replied that no interruption would be imposed upon them in the exercise of their religious rights, and that they would have all the rights entitled to them under the English act of toleration. They were not required to do what was done in Eastern Virginia, to register their meeting-houses, neither was the number limited. Neither were they liable to fine for not attending the parish church. However, they were expected to contribute to the support of the parish, and really not until 1781 was a person legally married unless the ceremony was exercised by the minister of the established church.

Among the first settlers to come into the upper valley and settle in the present Augusta county, was John Lewis. Lewis was an Irishman, of the rank of a gentleman, and his wife, Margaret Lynn, was of noble ancestry. In Ireland he lived on the property of a cruel lord, who, becoming jealous of the prosperity of his tenant, tried to make Lewis give up his lease. When the latter refused, the nobleman came with some men, attacked Lewis's house, and firing upon it without notice, killed an invalid brother. This so enraged Lewis that, with his servants, he killed the nobleman and his steward. He thereupon fled from Ireland, came to America, and was the first white man to settle in Augusta county. His home was only a few miles from Staunton, which city he founded.

Soon after Lewis had settled in the valley he visited Williamsburg, where he met with Benjamin Borden, who, greatly

pleased with Lewis's accounts of the valley, decided to cross the Blue Ridge and to explore that region. At that time buffaloes roamed in the valley, and one day the sons of John Lewis caught a little buffalo calf, which they presented to Borden. On returning to Williamsburg, Borden gave it to Governor Gooch, who was so delighted with this unusual pet that he authorized Borden to take up five hundred thousand acres of land at the headwaters of the Shenandoah and James Rivers (Augusta and Rockbridge counties), on the condition that he would send settlers into the valley. Borden at once brought colonists from England, and soon there were thriving settlements in this region, then a part of Orange county.

The Lewises were Scotch-Irish, and their lives clearly indicate what type of men they were. The eldest son of John Lewis was Thomas, who, on account of his poor eyesight, could not take part in the Indian wars which harassed the settlers on the frontier. He was, however, a man of prominence in Augusta, which county he represented in the House of Burgesses, when he voted in favor of Patrick Henry's famous resolutions of 1765 opposing the Stamp Act. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention that framed the first Virginia Constitution, and of the convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States in 1788. His home was in that part of Augusta which was made into Rockingham county in 1778.

Another son of John was William, who fought in many wars against the Indians, and was an officer in the Revolutionary army when Tarleton drove the Virginia Legislature from Charlottesville. At that time William Lewis was unable to go to the defense of his State on account of sickness, but his wife told her three sons, who were only thirteen, fifteen and seventeen years of age, to prepare for war, saying: "Go, my children, keep back the foot of the invader from the

soil of Augusta, or see my face no more." When this story was reported to Washington, he said: "Leave me but a banner to plant upon the mountains of Augusta, and I will rally around me the men who will lift our bleeding country from the dust and set her free."

For daring deeds Charles Lewis, the youngest son, was well known, and many a story has been repeated about him around the firesides of the valley. On one occasion Charles was taken prisoner by the Indians, who, having bound his hands behind him, were marching him barefooted across the Alleghanies. All the while he was looking for an opportunity to escape. Finally, as he was passing along the edge of a deep ravine through which ran a swift mountain stream, he plunged fearlessly over the precipice, and as he did so he succeeded in breaking the cords which bound his hands. The Indians jumped after and chased him down the ravine. But he ran across a field, leaped over some fallen trees, and hid himself in the tall weeds. The Indians failed to find him, although they made a long and faithful search. While Lewis was lying hid in the grass he perceived a huge rattlesnake coiled and ready to attack him. He knew that if he shuddered, or winked his eye even, that the rattlesnake would strike, so he kept perfectly still for more than an hour, until the rattlesnake crossed over his body and crawled away. Charles Lewis became a major in the Virginia militia, and fell bravely fighting the Indians at Point Pleasant.

But the best known of the sons of John Lewis was General Andrew Lewis, who was born in Ireland, probably about the year 1716. In personal appearance he was very imposing, being more than six feet high. He had a giant's frame, and the "earth seemed to rumble under him as he walked." He was stern of countenance, and repulsive to those who did not know him well. To the Indians the mention of his name brought terror.

When a very young man he was engaged in many fights with the Indians, for hardly had the valley been settled before Indians from the borders of the Ohio River crossed the Alleghanies, destroyed many homes and killed many settlers. Among the first to take arms against the savages were the Lewis brothers.

In 1756 Governor Dinwiddie determined to send an expedition against the Shawnee Indians, who lived on the Ohio River near the mouth of Big Sandy River. For this undertaking Major Andrew Lewis was selected to command the forces. His little army had a long march through a great wilderness, for there were few settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains, the first settlers having gone to that region about 1748. After a month's time all of the provisions of the little army had been consumed, but the troops managed to live upon the elks and buffaloes that they shot in the forests. Lewis, failing to find the Indians, returned to Augusta. Governor Dinwiddie was displeased because nothing had been accomplished, and wrote that "Major Lewis and his men did not know the way to the Shawnee towns." Although Lewis had been unsuccessful in this expedition, the Governor soon afterwards sent him with a force into the Cherokee country. Hither Lewis proceeded and built a fort on the Tennessee River about thirty miles south of the present site of Knoxville.

In the meantime it was reported that the French and Indians were marching from Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg, Pa.), and were going to attack Winchester, so the Governor called out the militia of ten counties to serve under Washington. Lewis was ordered to raise a company of Cherokees and to join Washington, but the Indians were unwilling to serve, and when Lewis returned from the Cherokee country he brought only seven warriors and three women, instead of four

hundred warriors as had been expected. Governor Dinwiddie was again greatly disappointed, but he then learned that the Virginians could not hope to enlist the Southern Indians to fight the French and the Indians of the Northwest.

The people of Augusta were in constant fear of the Indian raids, so long as the French remained in control of the Northwest; therefore, Lewis kept the militia of the county in readiness for any emergency. Great was their joy when it became known that William Pitt, the great English statesman, was determined to capture Fort Duquesne and Quebec, and drive the French from North America. General Forbes was sent (1758) to take Fort Duquesne, and Washington joined him with about eighteen hundred Virginia soldiers, of whom two companies were under the command of Major Andrew Lewis

On arriving in the neighborhood of Fort Duquesne, Forbes sent Major Grant with eight hundred men, including Major Lewis and his two companies, to reconnoitre the place. Grant, refusing to take advice, allowed himself to be entrapped by the Indians. Lewis was left to guard the baggage, while Grant and his troops went to examine the condition of the garrison. Suddenly Grant was attacked by the Indians, who, hidden behind the trees, could not be seen, and the British regulars were driven back with great loss. Lewis, hearing the noise of the battle, hastened with his troops to the scene of action. He and his men were attacked by the Indians with tomahawk and scalping-knife. Lewis fought hand to hand with an Indian warrior, whom he killed. Finding himself surrounded by the Indians, he surrendered to a French soldier in order to save his life. He was treated with great indignity, stripped of all his clothing and carried a prisoner to the fort. It is not known how long he remained in prison, but he was probably released when General Forbes captured Fort Du-

quesne. After the French were driven out of the Northwest, there were few Indian raids into Augusta county, and for some time we hear little of Lewis.

Settlers came in great numbers to the valley, so that by 1769 it was felt that Augusta county ought to be again divided. The southern part, then including all of Southwest Virginia, was cut off and made into the county of Botetourt. In this section, not far from the present site of Salem, Andrew Lewis lived, and when Botetourt was formed he was made a justice of the peace for that county.

In 1774 the Governor of Virginia was Lord Dunmore. Many settlers had by this time pushed their way across the Alleghany Mountains, and some had their eyes turned to Kentucky; but as yet no county had been organized west of the Alleghanies. The Indians along the Ohio River, fearing that they would lose their lands, rose against the whites, burned many settlements and killed the settlers. In retaliation some of the frontiersmen had attacked and killed the entire family of an Indian chief, named Logan. This brought on a general war along the frontier, and Lord Dunmore at once prepared to defend the western settlements.

Andrew Lewis was appointed brigadier-general, and forthwith he raised a force of eleven hundred men, chiefly from Augusta, Botetourt, Culpeper and Bedford counties. These men were bold and brave frontiersmen. "They wore fringed hunting shirts dyed yellow, white, brown, and even red. Quaintly carved shot-bags and powder-horns hung from their broad belts. They had fur caps, or soft hats, moccasins and coarse woolen leggins reaching half way up to the thigh. Each carried his flintlock, his tomahawk and scalping-knife."

With such men Lewis marched from Lewisburg, in what is now Greenbrier county, one hundred and sixty miles through the wilderness to the juncture of the Ohio and the Kanawha

Rivers, and took up his position on the point of land between the rivers known as Point Pleasant. Here he expected to be joined by Lord Dunmore, who commanded an army raised in Frederick and the adjoining counties in Northern Virginia. Dunmore did not arrive, but sent messages to Lewis that he had gone to attack the Shawnee towns across the Ohio, and ordered Lewis to cross the river and join him. Before Lewis could obey, he was attacked by the Indian leader, Cornstalk, with two thousand men. The battle was a fierce and bloody struggle, and was a sort of single-handed combat. The fighting was done at close range. Each man sheltered himself behind a stump, a rock or a tree trunk. The Indians fully expected to gain the victory, but the frontiersmen under Andrew Lewis were too valiant for their enemy. When the savages began to waver, the voice of Cornstalk could be heard above the din of battle calling to his warriors: "Be strong! Be strong!" After a desperate resistance the Indians broke and fled. The victory was decisive, but an expensive one. "The loss of the Virginians was heavy. Two colonels, seven captains, three lieutenants and seventy-five men were killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. Out of every five men one was dead or wounded." The Indians lost even more heavily, and were never again able to meet the Virginians on the east side of the Ohio in open battle.

We are not to suppose, however, that there were not Indian raids from time to time. These occurred frequently, and every pioneer barred his doors at night and kept his gun at the head of his bed as he slept, not knowing at what time the Indians might attack. The women, as well as the men, often engaged in warfare against the Indians. Such a woman was "Mad Ann," of Alleghany county, the wife of John Bailey, a soldier killed at the battle of Point Pleasant. She went about dressed in a woman's skirt and a man's coat, a rifle on

her shoulder and a tomahawk and butcher knife in her belt. She could climb the steepest mountain, whether it was severe winter or hot summer. She often left home and no one knew her whereabouts, and when she returned she always brought the scalps of some Indians. Sometimes she engaged in hand-to-hand fights with the Indians. She lived to be a very old woman, and died in 1825, almost within the memory of our fathers. Her story is but an indication of the rough pioneer life before and after the time of the Revolution. With the battle of Point Pleasant, open warfare with the Indians was at an end, but the settlers, like "Mad Ann," often had to hunt their enemy as they would hunt wolves.

It is wonderful to recall how quickly the population moved westward in Virginia. In 1710, as far as we know, there was not a white settler beyond the Blue Ridge, and yet in sixty-five years more than one-third of the white population of Virginia was beyond the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies, and some settlers had pushed as far to the west as the Mississippi River, occupying the frontier counties of Kentucky and Illinois.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SETTLERS OF THE FRONTIER.

As has been related in the previous chapter, from 1730 on the population of Virginia was moving gradually westward. In the year 1749 a company was organized, known as the Ohio Company, for the purpose of encouraging westward immigration and for carrying on trade among the Indians. Of this company Lawrence and Augustine, brothers of George Washington, were active and conspicuous members. The company was composed of thirteen prominent Virginians and Marylanders, with one London merchant. The plans of the company were immediately elaborated with reference to the two main objects of speculation in western lands and of carrying on an extensive trade with the western Indians. The company obtained from the crown a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land in the Ohio Valley, located mainly between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers. Immediately on obtaining this grant immense shipments of goods were ordered from London for the Indian trade.

In 1750 the company sent Christopher Gist, a well-known woodsman and trader living on the Yadkin River, down on the northern side of the Ohio River, with instructions to explore the western country as far as the falls of the Ohio, to find and locate a tract of level land, to discover passes in the mountains, to follow the course of the rivers and ascertain the strength of the Indian nations. Under these instructions Gist set out upon his journey and made the first exploration of

Southern Ohio of which there is any account. The next year, with a similar purpose in view, he explored the country on the southern side of the Ohio, going as far as the Great Kanawha. The reports which he made of his explorations added to the increasing interest in the western country. At this time it was evident that more than one colony was hoping to obtain titles to these western lands, and many efforts were made to secure treaties with the Indians. In 1744 deputies from the Iroquois, at Lancaster, Pa., made to Virginia a deed that covered the whole west as effectually as the Virginia interpretation of the charter of 1609. This treaty was considered of very great importance because it is the starting point of all subsequent negotiations with the Indians. It was this treaty that gave the English their first real hold upon the West, and as Mr. Hinsdale says in "The Old Northwest," "It stands in all the statements of the English claims to the western country side by side with the Cabot voyages."

In 1752 Governor Dinwiddie effected a treaty with all the western Indians, at Logstown, on the Ohio River, in which it was agreed that no settlement south of the Ohio River would be molested by the Indians.

This rapid movement to the west was followed by a war with the Indians, which resulted in their defeat in the battle of Point Pleasant, in 1744.

It is the purpose of this chapter to tell of the western movement which resulted in Clark's conquest of the Northwest. It must be remembered that contemporaneous with this western movement was the agitation that produced the Revolutionary War, and this story will have to do with incidents that were somewhat removed from the main field and centre of Revolutionary activities.

In the year 1769, the year that Boone first went to Kentucky, the first permanent settlement was made upon the

banks of the Watauga. These were settlers who had come out of Virginia and North Carolina, and were of the stock of Pennsylvanians who had previously gone to Western Virginia and North Carolina. They were a robust race, enterprising and intelligent and adventurous. They were the descendants of the Irish Calvinists, and were strongly of the Presbyterian persuasion. Into their new settlement they were followed by brave preachers of their faith, who divided with them the dangers and toils incident to frontier life. This settlement seemed at first to be but an enlargement of the Virginia settlement, and the settlers thought themselves still in the domain of Virginia. But in 1771 a surveyor ran out the Virginia boundary line to the westward and discovered that the Watauga settlement came within the limits of North Carolina. Discovering that they were not under the dominion of Virginia and that their rights against the Indians were not guaranteed by the Virginia Governor, they were thrown back on their own resources and were forced to organize for themselves a civil government.

As the result of the troubles between the royal Governor of North Carolina and certain men who called themselves regulators, many people from the counties of North Carolina were forced over the mountains and became settlers on the Watauga and the upper Holston. These settlers at Watauga proved to be the founders of the Commonwealth of Tennessee. In 1772 it seemed to them necessary that some sort of government should be organized. Among these settlers at Watauga were two men distinguished for their pre-eminent ability. They were John Sevier and James Robinson. Robinson became the leader in the effort to establish a commonwealth of their own. They adopted written articles, which were known afterwards as "The Articles of the Watauga Association," and they formed a written Constitution. It is said that

"these were the first men of American birth to establish a free and independent community on the continent."

In this same year, 1769, Daniel Boone was exploring the valley of the Holston and Clinch Rivers, and entered the present State of Kentucky and reached the valley of the Kentucky River.

Boone was born in Pennsylvania in 1735. He enjoyed small advantages in the way of schooling, but early in life learned to shoot and explore the forests with a skill equal to that of an Indian. In 1752 he went with this father to live in the Yadkin Valley, and from this region he began to make trips of exploration into the wild West. Adventure was his ruling passion, but for other reasons he desired to move into the western region. He was an exceedingly plain man, and he was thoroughly satisfied with his log cabin and his deerskin clothes. At this time the English Governor of North Carolina was putting on great airs, and had introduced the fashionable ways of living which were in vogue in England. In order to support the extravagances of their stylish Governor, the people were being grievously taxed. Boone's simple life rebelled against these conditions, and he determined to explore Kentucky with a view of taking his family into that great wilderness and establishing a home there.

In 1769, with five companions, he set out upon his long journey of exploration. They wore hunting shirts and trousers made of deerskin. Their undergarments were of coarse cotton, and around their bodies were leather belts. Each one carried a tomahawk on his right side, and a hunting-knife, powder-horn and bullet-pouch on his left. Over all this lesser accoutrement each man bore upon his shoulder his long and trusty rifle.

The weather was stormy and the way through the tangled forests was hard and trying. Their garments became soiled

and torn, and had they been less robust they would have died from fatigue. After six months, during which time they explored much of Eastern Kentucky, they were suddenly surprised by Indians and taken prisoners. Boone had a thoroughly good understanding of Indian character. He knew that the best way to win the favor of the Indians was to appear satisfied; so he pretended to be greatly interested in whatever they did, and held himself ready always to give them any assistance in his power. The Indians were thrown off their guard and were less vigilant in their care of their prisoners. One night, while the savages were fast asleep, Boone quietly got up, whispered to one of his companions named Stewart, and the two made good their escape. They ran aimlessly through the wilderness, but when the Indians awoke they were far beyond their reach. They wandered through the woods for days, hoping to avoid the Indians and trusting somehow to find their way back to North Carolina. In their wanderings they discovered one day the forms of two men. Not doubting that they were Indians, they grasped their rifles immediately to fire upon them, but before doing so Boone cried out, "Hello, strangers, who are you?" and greatly to their relief and delight the answer came back, "White men, and friends." Boone's delight was further enhanced when he found that one of the men was his own brother, who had come from North Carolina searching for them. Boone and his companion returned to North Carolina, but he was not contented to live there. So in 1773 he set out again for Kentucky, this time carrying with him his family. Their beds, clothes and provisions were strapped on packhorses, while they drove their cattle before them. On their journey they were met by five other families, making altogether a party of forty. They had scarcely reached the borders of Kentucky before they were attacked by a party of Indians. In the battle which fol-

lowed six of the men with Boone were killed, one of them being his eldest son, James, a lad of seventeen. Boone was so distressed by this calamity and bereavement that he turned back and settled on the Clinch River, which flows out of Virginia into Tennessee. While he was here a messenger came from Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, asking him to enter the service of Virginia. He accepted the appointment, and was made captain of a company in the army of General Andrew Lewis. These troops were led by Lewis across the Alleghanies, and in an engagement at Point Pleasant, where the Ohio and the Kanawha Rivers join, the Indians were defeated. Boone then returned to his family, and in 1775 entered into the region of Kentucky and built the town of Boonesborough. He declared that his wife and daughters were the first white women that ever stood on the banks of the Kentucky River. Soon other families followed and the settlement grew rapidly. Many settlers came from Virginia, and among them was George Rogers Clark, of whom we shall hear more presently.

Hardly had Boone left Kentucky when the news came that the colonists east of the Alleghanies were at war with England. The Indians, inspired by the English in Canada, were constantly raiding the settlements of the whites along the Ohio River. These early settlers were therefore constantly subjected to the danger of being surprised and overwhelmed by the Indians. Their little towns were built like forts, so that they might the more easily and surely defend themselves. But in spite of all precautions, most of them were captured and killed by the Indians.

It is hard for us in these latter days, with all the conveniences and facilities of civilization about us, to have any adequate idea or appreciation of the sufferings incident to the life of these great pioneers. Among other things greatly needed by these Kentucky settlers was salt. There was a

place on the Licking River where it could be gotten, and Boone was sent with thirty men to procure a supply for the settlement. While he was engaged in the manufacture of salt he was surprised by the Indians and taken prisoner. They carried him across the Ohio River towards the Great Lakes. His skill as a marksman soon won for him the admiration of the Indians, and Blackfish, a Shawnee chief, adopted him as his own son. The adoption was according to the Indian ceremonies, which was not without both painful and humorous aspects. His hair was pulled out by a slow process, except a single tuft on the top of his head, which was dressed up with ribbon and feathers. He was next taken to the river and thoroughly washed and rubbed in order that his white blood might be removed. His face and head were then painted with various colors, and the ritual of adoption was consummated with a great feast and the usual pipe-smoking.

While living thus among the Indians, Boone was constantly hoping and planning to effect an escape. He overheard, on one occasion, that the Indians were planning a raid on Boonesborough, and he determined at all hazards to save the little town and his family. He managed finally to escape the vigilance of the Indians, and after five days of rapid traveling he reached Boonesborough, having gone more than one hundred and sixty miles. During the five days he ate but one meal, which was a turkey that he shot after crossing the Ohio River. He knew that he would not be safe until he crossed the river, for the Indians were in hot pursuit of him. Sure enough, after he reached Boonesborough it was attacked by the Indians, but Boone had come in time to have the place fortified, and the Indians were driven back. Thus by Boone's bravery and determination one of the chief settlements of Kentucky was saved from destruction.

Boone's life was a story of exciting adventure, and many

interesting incidents are related of him. On one occasion he was in his tobacco house hanging tobacco which was not quite dry. He was in the top of the barn when four stout Indians with guns entered the door and called out, "Now, Boone, we've got you. You no get away more. We carry you off this time. You no cheat us any more." Boone looked down from his perch and saw four guns aimed at his breast. He recognized the Indians as the same who had taken him prisoner when he was making salt. He calmly and pleasantly replied, "Ah, old friends, glad to see you." He was ordered to come down. To this he readily assented, but asked the Indians to wait a moment until he had finished moving his tobacco, and while discharging this task he inquired of them about the Indians whom he had known near the Great Lakes, and promised to give them tobacco when it was cured. While engaged thus in conversation he was getting together a number of sticks of very dry tobacco. Suddenly he threw himself upon the Indians with the dry tobacco, which crumbled and filled their mouths and eyes, so blinding them that they could not see to shoot as he ran out and hastened to his cabin, thus effecting his escape.

For his valuable services in fighting the Indians, Boone received large grants of land, but he neglected to have the deeds recorded, and so finally he lost all of his land. When he realized that he had forfeited these lands in Kentucky by his neglect, he decided to go further into the wild West, which embraced in those days all of the territory west of the Mississippi River, known as Louisiana. Boone had heard of the marvelous fertility of Louisiana, so in 1795 he crossed over the Mississippi River and found a home in what is now the State of Missouri, not very far away from St. Louis. At that time all of that vast region was under the control of Spain. The Spanish government hearing of Boone's prowess and

bravery, made him commandant of St. Louis, and granted him nine thousand acres of land on the Missouri River. In a few years Louisiana was transferred by Spain to the French, from whom the United States bought it in 1803.

Boone's family soon followed him, together with many other American settlers. Once again Boone's failure to observe legal proprieties and requirements in the small matter of having deeds recorded lost him all the lands that had been granted in Louisiana. He was now an old man. He had wandered through the wilderness of Kentucky, crossed the Mississippi and was probably about the first citizen of the United States to settle on the Missouri River. He had left Kentucky owing debts, and, being an honest man, he was greatly disturbed in his desire to liquidate them. With this intention he returned to his old occupation of hunting, and in one winter was so successful that he was able to return to Kentucky and fully pay all of his obligations, returning to St. Louis with only fifty cents in his pockets. To some friend he remarked: "Now I am ready and willing to die. I am relieved from the burden which has so long oppressed me. I have paid all of my debts, and no one will say when I am gone, Boone was a dishonest man. I am perfectly willing to die."

A little later he asked the Legislature of Kentucky to restore to him his lands and to appeal to Congress in his favor. The Kentucky Legislature at once presented his claim to Congress, and in 1814 Congress passed an act giving Boone about one thousand acres of land in Missouri. Boone was then seventy-nine years old, but his mind was still alert and vigorous. He lived six years longer, during which time Missouri had grown rapidly, and when he died, in 1820, that Territory was knocking for admission as a State into the Union.

The Western States can never forget Boone. He blazed

the way through the wilderness into Kentucky and across the Mississippi into the far West.

Boone was honest, unselfish, wise and courageous. He was devoted to his family, especially to his children and his grandchildren. It is said that he had no greater pleasure in his old age than to make for his grandchildren powder-horns and to teach them how to handle the rifle. Twenty-five years after his death his remains were taken from the banks of the Missouri and brought to Frankfort, Ky., where they were re-interred with befitting and imposing ceremonies. There were representatives from every county in Kentucky, and many people from the West came together to honor the pioneer of the great Mississippi Valley.

Many Virginians who were attracted by the story of Boone's adventures and by the reports concerning the beauty and fertility of the western country were soon following the great pioneer into Kentucky. Among these was George Rogers Clark. He was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, in 1752, not far from the birthplace of Thomas Jefferson. In after years there sprang up a strong friendship between these two, though there is no evidence to show that this friendship began in their boyhood days. His early years were spent in Caroline county, Virginia, and he went to school to Mr. Donald Robinson, and was a playmate and friend of James Madison, who afterwards became President of the United States. Following the example of Washington and other eminent men, he became a surveyor, and in a few years took up for himself a tract of land about twenty-five miles from where Wheeling, West Virginia, now stands. When Dunmore took the field against the Indians in the Northwest, Clark joined him. He was not, however, at the battle of Point Pleasant, because Lord Dunmore, under whose immediate command he was, failed to join General Andrew Lewis at the time and

place agreed upon. In 1775 he took up his residence in Kentucky, and became interested at once in all schemes that looked for the protection of the people against the savages and for the general improvement of the country.

Soon the question of the relation of Kentucky to Virginia was being agitated, and there was a general desire that the question might be determined, and, if possible, in favor of an organic connection with Virginia. A meeting was called, at which it was determined to send two delegates to the Virginia Legislature. For some reason Clark failed to put in his appearance at this meeting until after this action had been taken. His idea was that they should send two agents to Williamsburg with power to act in any way that they might deem wise after the situation had been gone over at Williamsburg. He, however, readily acquiesced in the action of the meeting, and soon, with John Gabriel Jones, the other delegate, set out upon the long journey through the wilderness to Williamsburg. This journey was not taken by the water route, but over what was known as the wilderness road, which, it is presumed, was no road at all. It was a wet season, and the travel was made exceedingly difficult and disagreeable. They were constantly threatened by an attack by the Indians. Clark lost his horse on the way and had to walk. He said afterwards that he "suffered more torment than he had ever done before or since." They were disappointed in not finding people at Martin's Fort, near Cumberland Gap, as they had confidently hoped, but they were so exhausted that they took up a brief residence in the abandoned quarters and recuperated, and prepared for the rest of the journey.

On their arrival at Williamsburg they found the Legislature already adjourned. He tells in his diary that he settled with the auditor and drew £726 from the treasurer. He relates that he bought cloth for a jacket, paying £4, 15s. for

it, with an added 3s. for buttons. He also relates that he bought a lottery ticket at the cost of £3, in the State lottery, No. 10693, first-class. He further relates that he went to church on the 9th inst.

Jones went back to the settlement on the Holston to await the meeting of the next Legislature, but Clark remained at Williamsburg, desiring earnestly to have a conference with Governor Patrick Henry. Governor Henry was sick at this time at his home in Hanover, but was so interested in Clark and his schemes that he cheerfully granted him a hearing, and recommended that the Council give to Clark, for use in the Northwest, five hundred pounds of gunpowder. The Council was reluctant to grant the request, but finally did so on the condition that Clark would pay the freight for its transportation to Kentucky and give personal bond that he would return the cost of the powder to the Council in case the Legislature should refuse to indorse their action. Clark was very much chagrined at the conditions named, and was sorely tempted to promptly decline to assume any further responsibility in the matter. He concluded, however, to have further argument with the Council, and told them that if Kentucky was a part of Virginia, Virginia certainly owed protection to it; that if it was not worth protecting, it was not worth having, and then he adroitly insinuated that if this request should be declined, they would be compelled to look to other quarters for their assistance, which, he doubted not, would be speedily and gladly furnished him. The Council yielded to the argument of Clark, and ordered that five hundred pounds of gunpowder be forthwith sent to Pittsburg, and there held subject to the orders of George Rogers Clark for the use of the inhabitants of Kentucky. Clark was, of course, greatly gratified at this issue, not simply that it obtained for him the five hundred pounds of gunpowder, but the grant seemed to involve the recognition of Kentucky as a part of Virginia.

He remained at Williamsburg until the fall, when the Legislature met again. Mr. Jones returned from the Holston settlement, likewise, in time for the meeting of the Legislature. They were at first not admitted as full members, but were permitted very close relations with the Legislature, and there is unmistakable evidence that they had great influence with the body. By their influence the Legislature formally recognized Kentucky as a part of Virginia, under the county of Kentucky, with its present boundaries as a State.

After the close of the Legislature, Clark and Jones returned to Kentucky. On their arrival at Pittsburg they found that the gunpowder was still there, not having been forwarded to Kentucky. They determined that they themselves would undertake the delivery of the gunpowder. They, therefore, took the river route, which was exceedingly dangerous, because both banks of the river were frequented by Indians. They reached Maysville, Kentucky, but were afraid to undertake to carry the powder inland, so hid it in several places along the river, Clark hurrying into the interior to organize a military force from Harrisburg to convey the powder to its destination. While he was gone on this mission, a Colonel John Todd arrived with a small force and attempted to convey the powder with only a small escort of ten men. They were no sooner well on their way when they were violently attacked by the Indians and were routed. Among the killed was John Gabriel Jones, almost on the threshold of his own home, to which he was returning after his long absence in Virginia.

Upon the tidings of the defeat of the Todd party, a company of thirty was raised, who succeeded in finding the powder and delivering it finally in good order.

Clark remained in Kentucky until October, 1777, all the time projecting and perfecting schemes for the protection of the people, and brooding in the meantime over the possibilities and desirability of capturing the Northwest from England. He

sought all possible information, sent spies throughout the Northwest to report on the number of English posts and to ascertain the sentiment of the people with regard to an alliance with Americans rather than with the English. When he had secured all necessary information he again went to Williamsburg, where, in December, 1777, he laid the matter that was on his heart before Governor Patrick Henry. Governor Henry hesitated, but appreciated the importance and comprehensiveness of Clark's great scheme. Indeed, so important did he esteem it to be, that he called for a conference on the subject with such men as Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason. After this conference he called together the Council, which was composed of His Excellency, John Page, Dudley Diggs, John Blair, Nathaniel Harris and David Jameson. The Governor related to the Council the purpose and details of the scheme, and recommended earnestly that they take action in the matter. He informed them that Kaskaskia was held by the British, with cannon and other valuable stores, and occupied at the present time by a very weak garrison. The Council, after some debate, voted £1,200 to be given to George Rogers Clark to organize his expedition. The action was taken under the warrant of the law passed by the General Assembly authorizing the Governor and Council to take all necessary means for the protection of the colonists. Colonel George Rogers Clark was authorized to organize seven companies. They were to go to Kentucky and obey such orders as Clark should impose upon them. He was also empowered to raise these men in any county in the Commonwealth. The members of the Council advising the movement agreed to recommend that each soldier, in addition to the usual pay, should receive a land grant of three hundred acres. Clark got together a force of one hundred and fifty men, which he concentrated on Corn Island,

at the falls of the Ohio River. Staying here long enough to build suitable boats for transportation, he embarked and went down the Ohio River as far as Fort Masce, whence he made his march to Kaskaskia, which was held by a small garrison of English troops. He occupied the place without being detected, walked into the fort and stood in the doorway of the hall and watched the dancing. The English did not see him, but an Indian who was present noticed the stranger and raised a war-whoop. Colonel Clark quietly quelled the disturbance, and informed the gentlemen that they could proceed with their dance, though they were now prisoners in the hands of the Virginians. He then went to the home of the commander, Rochblave, whom he captured in bed. There were some important papers in the house which Colonel Clark was very anxious to secure, but unfortunately these were stored in Madam Rochblave's room, and his gallantry and respect for the ladies were so great that rather than invade the privacy of the lady's chamber, he permitted her to burn the papers without being disturbed.

Kaskaskia was the most important town of the Northwest for a long number of years. It was the capital of the Illinois country during the dominion of France, England and Virginia. It was the leading town of the Northwest from the time of its organization up to 1800, and of the Indiana territory until 1809. At the time of its capture by Clark it was occupied by several hundred families.

After the capture of Kaskaskia, Clark set out to take possession of Vincennes. He found no difficulty in receiving the capitulation of the town, for its inhabitants were French and were only too glad to transfer their allegiance from the flag of England to that of Virginia. The English had a large force in Detroit, under the command of Governor Hamilton, who, on hearing of the occupancy of Illinois by Colonel Clark,

determined, if possible, to dispossess him and to continue to hold the Northwest for the English. He, therefore, moved with a large force to the south and recaptured Vincennes. There had been left in Vincennes only a very small garrison of Virginians, whose commander understood very well that they could not resist an attack from Hamilton, and so asked for a conference, and when he was informed that he might retire with the honors of war, he gladly did so, greatly amazing General Hamilton at the fewness of his men.

When Clark heard that Vincennes had again fallen into the hands of the English, he determined to get together his troops again and to capture Hamilton and his forces or to drive them from the Northwestern land. In the middle of winter, 1779, Clark left Kaskaskia to attack Vincennes. His march was a bold undertaking, and covered a distance of one hundred and sixty miles through the drowned lands of the Wabash River. Often the soldiers had to go through water up to their waists, and sometimes even to their necks, but Clark was dauntless and his men were brave, so they pushed on with determination. Toward the end of the march Clark found the water so deep and his men were so exhausted from cold and hunger that he feared to make known to them the real situation. He then put some water in his hands, poured on powder, blackened his face, gave the war-whoop and marched into the water without saying a word. He ordered his men to begin a favorite song, and the whole force joining in, marched cheerfully into the water. After sixteen days of great perseverance and hardships, Clark reached Vincennes. His appearance before them was a surprise, as Hamilton had never dreamed that any man would dare to march from Kaskaskia to Vincennes through the drowned lands of the Wabash River. Clark ordered him to surrender, which he at first declined to do, but that night Clark made such a vigorous attack on the

fort that the next day Hamilton thought it wise to surrender. Clark sent a boat up the Wabash River, captured forty prisoners and $50,000 worth of goods and stores. Hamilton and some of the officers and privates were sent as prisoners to Williamsburg.

Not only did Clark drive the English from the Northwest, but he also subdued the Indians in that region. It is related that he met them in many conferences, and always succeeded in impressing and over-awing them. At one meeting he had only seventy men, while the Indians had three hundred. The Indian chief, believing that he was stronger than Clark, placed upon a table at which Clark was seated a belt of white and black wampum, signifying that Clark could take either peace or war. Taking this as an insult, Clark threw the wampum upon the floor, trampled on it, and dismissed the Indians from the hall. This courageous act, which meant nothing else than war, so unnerved the Indians that they at once began to fear Clark, and the next day they sued for peace.

Having thus overcome the English and subdued the Indians into a treaty, Clark had now absolute control of the Northwestern territory. Virginia was greatly delighted with Clark's splendid achievements. The Legislature passed a vote of thanks and presented him with a sword, on the scabbard of which were the words, "Sic semper tyrannis," and on the blade, "A tribute to the courage and patriotism, presented by the State of Virginia to her beloved son, General George Rogers Clark, who, by the conquest of Illinois and Vincennes, extended her empire and aided in the defense of her liberties." For their services in the war Virginia granted to Clark and his soldiers one hundred and fifty thousand acres of land in what is now the State of Indiana. Of this grant Clark received for his part eight thousand acres, and each private received one hundred and eight acres.

In October, 1778, the Virginia Legislature took the following action: "All citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia who are actually settlers there, or who shall hereafter be settled on the west side of the Ohio, shall be included in the district of Kentucky, which shall be called Illinois county." And in keeping with this action Governor Henry appointed a lieutenant-commandant for the new county, with full authority to administer government.

Thus it was in 1779 Illinois became a county in the State of Virginia. The various States which had entered into the Union became unwilling to see Virginia hold so much territory. Maryland finally refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation unless all of this western territory was ceded to the Union. This Virginia magnanimously did by act of her Legislature in 1782. Other States, Connecticut and Massachusetts notably, claimed a part of the Northwestern territory. There can be no doubt, however, but that Virginia's claims were the more reasonable; first, her charter of 1609, and second, by conquest, "her troops sent out by Virginia, under George Rogers Clark." Mr. Hinsdale, in his "Old Northwest," truly says: "The Northwest had been won by a Virginia army, commanded by a Virginia officer, put in the field at Virginia's expense."

In the State Library of Virginia are a great number of manuscripts known as "The George Rogers Clark Papers," which show with what great difficulty Virginia supplied her troops in the Northwest, being compelled to find provisions even from so great a distance as New Orleans. Clark often complained that he did not receive sufficient supplies. The men were forced frequently to go without shoes and clothes, and often their rations were only a gill of whiskey, a pound of beef and a pound of flour a day.

Sufficient credit is not always given to Clark and to Vir-

ginia for the Northwest territory. If Clark had not conquered this territory it would have remained in the hands of the English until the close of the Revolutionary War. By the treaty of peace with England which acknowledged the independence of the United States, it was agreed that England and the United States should each retain what territory they held at the time of the close of the war. By this treaty Canada, which was never conquered by the United States, was kept by England; but since Clark had conquered the Northwest territory, this remained in the hands of the United States. So it was through the boldness and wisdom of George Rogers Clark that we now have in our nation those five magnificent States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. When we recall how much territory Virginia has given to the Union, and how many men she furnished in the Revolutionary period and in the early period of the Union that shaped the affairs of state, it is easy to see how reasonable is the claim made for her that she is the mother of States and of statesmen.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PATRICK HENRY, VIRGINIA'S GREAT COMMONER

We are now to return from our excursions westward to the stirring scenes associated with the bringing about of the great Revolutionary struggle. Perhaps as around no other person the incidents going immediately before the Declaration of Independence gather about the person and speech of Patrick Henry. He seems to have been raised up to be the prophet of the Revolution and the mouthpiece and exponent of those great dynamic principles which inspired the great struggle for liberty and crowned it with splendid success.

Between the earlier and later biographers of Mr. Henry there are many discrepancies, and consequently much confusion as to some of the facts of his life. He seems to have been of Scotch ancestry on his father's side. He was born at Studley, Hanover county, Va., May 29, 1736. This was the home of his mother, who was the widow of Colonel Symm at the time of her marriage to Colonel Henry. It will be remembered that it was of a visit to her home while on a tour of inspection of his estates that Colonel Byrd makes mention in the "Westover Manuscripts." At that time she was a hospitable and prepossessing widow. Her maiden name was Sarah Winston, a family of Welsh extraction, favorably known in many descendants throughout Virginia even to this day.

His father, Colonel Henry, was a native of Dundee, Scotland. He seems to have been a man of good culture and of fine standing in the community. He was a regimental com-

mander, president of a magisterial court, and held the office of county surveyor, which in those days was an important and prominent position, for many years.

Mr. Henry was thoroughly well born, and on both sides of his family there was a lineage of which he might well be proud. He went to the neighborhood schools until he was ten years old, after which time he was taught by his father and an uncle who was a minister. The general impression that Patrick Henry was an uneducated man seems to be somewhat wide of the mark. He himself, doubtless, was largely responsible for this impression, as he took no pains to parade any knowledge he might have; but, on the other hand, seemed for some reason disposed, by his speech and conduct, to encourage the idea that he was a man without education and training. The facts of the case, however, when thoroughly sifted, go to prove that while Mr. Henry could not in any broad sense be called a scholar, he was not without an education very far above the average received by the youth of his time. The fact that his pronunciation was wretched is not sufficient to stamp him as an uneducated man. It is said that Jefferson told Daniel Webster that Patrick Henry's pronunciation was vulgar and vicious. Governor John Page used to relate, "on the testimony of his own ears," that Patrick Henry would speak of "the yearth and of men's naiteral parts as being improved by larning." Many cultivated men are open to the charge of ignorance if Mr. Henry is to be convicted on the above statements. There is room for belief that Mr. Henry, for reasons of expediency, encouraged the idea that he was not an educated man. He evidently thought that such an impression would the more closely identity him with the mass of people. There is proof that he received a good classical training at the hands of his father and of his uncle up to the age of fifteen years, and that his attainments in mathematics were not mean.

Colonel Fontaine has an anecdote concerning a certain Frenchman who visited his grandfather's house while he was Governor. The French visitor was not able to speak English, and his grandfather not being able to speak French, they selected the Latin language as a medium of communication. If this story be true, there can be no doubt but that Mr. Henry's knowledge of Latin was far beyond that usually possessed even by educated men.

His manner of speech and method of writing, both in his private correspondence and in official documents, prove beyond any sort of doubt that Mr. Henry was a man of good intelligence, cultivation and attainments. It is said that he was very fond both of the Bible and of "Butler's Analogy." It would be quite impossible for one to be familiar with either of these books in any real and enthusiastic way and not be thoroughly competent to write and speak good English.

At the age of fifteen he was put to clerk in a country store, a career upon which he entered with small taste and enthusiasm. After a short apprenticeship his father set him and his younger brother up in business on their own account. It seems that his brother was as little qualified for the career of a business man as Patrick himself was. The venture soon proved to be a failure. Just after this experience in bankruptcy, when he had attained the age of eighteen, he added to the embarrassment of this distressing situation by marrying. The name of the brave woman who was willing to share his lot of poverty, and who was said to be quite as impecunious as he was, was Sarah Shelton. The situation seemed to call for help from both sides of the family, so accordingly the parents of both parties united in settling the young couple upon a small farm. The experiment at farming was as disastrous as the business venture, and after two years there was a forced sale of whatever remained on the farm. Patrick concluded

that perhaps with the added experience of the years at farming, a business venture might prove more successful, and he resolved to again open up a country store. A third failure followed quickly upon the heels of the others.

If one imagines that during all these distressing years Patrick was himself greatly distressed or disturbed, one is much mistaken. It seems that he was possessed of a most perennial good nature, which absolutely refused to be discouraged, and could find no situation but that out of it some sort of pleasure or satisfaction might be had. However serious the situation might seem to others, Patrick never really seemed to be gravely impressed. At the age of twenty-three he was the father of a group of small children, looking to him for daily bread and support, and there was absolutely no visible means of a livelihood, and he was thrown back upon his wife's father, who kept an inn at Hanover Courthouse, for shelter and support.

It is said that his first awakening to consciousness of capacity and to anything like real ambition is due to the preaching of two ministers of the gospel, one of whom, James Waddell, was a blind preacher, and seems to have been able to exercise wonderful influence over great congregations by his eloquence. The other was Samuel Davies, an eminent Presbyterian minister, of whom Patrick Henry said he was the greatest orator that he had ever heard. Under the witchery of the eloquence of these two men he seems really to have found himself. There was that in him which responded to the call for expression aroused in him by the preaching of these two ministers, and for the first time in his life he formed something like a real resolution.

He determined that he would enter at once upon the preparation for the practice of law. It would be interesting to trace through Mr. Henry's ancestry on both sides of the

parental house the lines of heredity that would account for his ambition in this respect, and largely for the splendid success realized afterwards in his career. If the accounts are true, he was not by any means the first competent lawyer or successful politician or eloquent speaker in his family. The truth is that up to this time there never had been any appeal made to the man's essential nature, and there was no stir in his life until he felt this call.

The stories concerning his preparation for admission to the bar are somewhat confusing, both as to the length of time taken in this preparation and as to the way in which he was admitted to the practice of law. One story says that he gave only a very few weeks of study, a month or six weeks, in the preparation for admission; another extends the limit to nine months. However this may be, there can be no doubt but that it was with some difficulty that he procured a license. No one knows precisely what conditions were exacted upon which the license was granted. It is said that there were four examiners, Wythe, Pendleton, Peyton Randolph and John Randolph. Wythe and Pendleton, Mr. Jefferson says, at once rejected his application. The two Randolphs were, by his importunity, prevailed upon to sign the license, and having obtained their signatures, he again applied to Pendleton, and after much entreaty and many promises of future study, succeeded also in obtaining his signature. At any rate he obtained his license and began at once to establish himself in his profession. This seems to have been done much more promptly and effectually than many records allow. For misinformation and misunderstanding of Mr. Henry's career as a lawyer, Thomas Jefferson is supposed to be largely responsible. Fortunately, in more recent years certain documents have been brought to light which prove that Mr. Henry was an unusually successful lawyer from the beginning, and that

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many of the impressions hitherto had concerning his capacity and fitness for the practice of law were entirely erroneous. Mr. Henry's own fee-book, containing a record of the number of suits in which he was employed for the first three years of his professional career, has been found, in which it is indicated that in that time he was engaged in as many as eleven hundred and eighty-five law suits. Furthermore, these documents show that these suits were in the general practice of law, and not in the main in criminal cases, as is commonly supposed. It was just this sort of practice that required the possession of certain qualities and attributes denied to Mr. Henry by the general impression. Mr. Moses Coit Tyler institutes a comparison between the accounts of the first several years of Mr. Henry's practice and that of Mr. Jefferson, in which it is indicated very clearly that Mr. Henry's practice for the same time was nearly double that of Mr. Jefferson. Instead of being dependent for these several years upon the bounty of his father-in-law, there is a record of his having advanced to his father-in law a considerable sum of money. At the beginning, however, such was his general reputation and his manner of dress and speech that it would have taken a very sanguine prophet to predict for him in the practice of law anything but speedy distress and failure.

His first appearance in the courthouse was in the celebrated suit known as "The Parsons' Case." It will be remembered that this was a suit brought by a minister of the Church of England to recover his salary. The salaries of the clergy were to be paid in tobacco at the rate of sixteen thousand pounds per year. On account of the great scarcity of tobacco there had been a large advance in its price. The Virginia Assembly passed an act making all debts payable in tobacco to be paid in money at the rate of only twopence per pound. An appeal was made to the King concerning the legality of

this enactment, who promptly decided against it. The clergymen were thus clearly entitled either to the tobacco or to its market price. Mr. Maury, the minister at Hanover, brought suit to recover his salary. There was no question at all as to the law in the case. The King had decided that, and the counsel for the defendants had retired from the case. There seems to have been, however, a universal and earnest desire that some remarks be offered upon the subject, and Patrick Henry was employed to oppose the parsons. It was his first appearance as a lawyer in public speech. At first he was embarrassed and awkward in manner, and slow and stammering in speech. But in some marvelous way a strange transformation took place. He found himself after a few moments in the midst of a most eloquent and passionate utterance. He denounced the clergy in such bold and scathing terms that numbers of them rose up in indignation and left the courthouse. He spoke after the same fashion concerning the King, who had supported the cause of the parsons, and denounced him as a tyrant who had forfeited all right to claim obedience. Even when the counsel for the plaintiff charged that "the gentleman has spoken treason," Henry was by no means quelled or subdued. The truth is, he grew bolder and more violent. The audience was evidently in thorough and manifest sympathy with every extravagant utterance, and when Patrick Henry had closed his marvelous tirade of eloquence, the crowd was in the wildest excitement and commotion as the jury retired to discuss the verdict. Only five minutes passed before the jury returned with a verdict that fixed the damage for the plaintiff at only one penny. The verdict was received with loud and vociferous applause. The will of the King had been openly defied, and when court adjourned the young orator was caught up and carried out on the shoulders of the excited crowd. This was the beginning of his career as a lawyer,

and these were the first utterances of the great commoner whose bold speech was to fire the colonial heart throughout the land to defiance and ultimately to open rebellion.

Patrick Henry was elected from Louisa county to the House of Burgesses in 1765. It was at the time when the country was greatly stirred over the act of the English Parliament known as the stamp act. England was greatly embarrassed financially, especially by reason of the debt that had been accumulated incident to the war with France. The Englishmen claimed that as this war had been mainly in the protection of the interest of the American colonies, they should bear a part of the expense. By all the precedents hitherto clearly understood, both in England and America, Virginia could not be taxed except with the consent and authority of the House of Burgesses. The Englishmen considered the conditions extraordinary, and resolved to resort to extreme measures. After some procrastination and debate, a measure was finally passed providing for a stamp upon all documents of a legal nature. This act was received with universal dissent and indignation on the part of the colonists, and it was in the midst of the excitement growing out of the act of the English Parliament that the House of Burgesses met in 1765.

However much the matter may have been discussed in private and personal capacities, no one ventured to secure from the House of Burgesses any formal or official utterance on the subject. Mr. Henry waited until it was within three days of the time agreed upon for the adjournment of the House of Burgesses. He finally and reluctantly determined that he himself would force an expression of opinion from the members of the House of Burgesses. So he prepared and presented five resolutions that were seconded by Mr. Johnson. Mr. Henry was only twenty-nine years of age and was alto-

gether unused to the customs and proprieties of the House of Burgesses, and it was not without considerable fear and no little awkwardness that he took up the defense of the resolutions that he had prepared. We give in full the resolutions as prepared by Mr. Henry. It is said that they were written upon a fly-leaf of a law book called "Coke upon Littleton."

"Resolved, That the first adventurers and settlers of this His Majesty's colony and domain, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity and all others of His Majesty's subjects since inhabiting this His Majesty's said colony, all privileges, franchises and immunities that have at any time been here enjoyed and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That by two royal charters granted by King James I., the colonists aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges, liberties and immunities of denisons and natural born subjects to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot exist.

"Resolved, That His Majesty's liege people of this most ancient colony have uninterruptedly enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own Assembly in the article of their taxes and internal police, and that the same hath never been forfeited or in any other way given up, but hath been constantly recognized by the King and the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, That therefore the General Assembly of this

colony have the sole right and power to levy taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom."

These resolutions were afterwards found among the papers of Mr. Henry, on the back of which there was written by Mr. Henry the following indorsement:

"The within resolutions passed the House of Burgesses in May, 1765. That from the first opposition to the stamp act and the scheme of taxing Americans by the British Parliament, all colonies were through fear or want of opportunity to form an opposition, or upon influence from some kind or other, had remained silent. I had been for the first time elected a burgess a few days before; was young, inexperienced, unacquainted with the forms of the House and the members that composed it. Finding the men of weight averse to opposition, and the commencement of the tax at hand, and that no person was likely to step forth, I determined to venture, and alone, unadvised and unassisted, on a blank leaf of an old law book, wrote the within. Upon offering them to the House, violent debate ensued, many threats were uttered and much abuse cast on me by the party for submission. After a long and warm contest, the resolutions passed by a very small majority, perhaps of one or two only. The alarm spread throughout America with astonishing quickness, and the ministerial parties were overwhelmed. The great point of resistance to British taxation was universally established in the colonies. This brought on the war which finally separated the two countries and gave independence to ours. Whether this will prove a blessing or a curse will depend upon the use our people make of the blessing which a gracious God hath

bestowed on us. If they are wise they will be great and happy; if they are of a contrary character, they will be miserable. Righteousness alone can exalt them as a nation. Reader, whoever thou art, remember this and in thy sphere practice virtue thyself and encourage it in others."

Such men as Randolph, Bland, Pendleton, Wythe, and, indeed, all the older members and members of weighty influence, presented a united opposition to the resolutions as offered by Mr. Henry, and especially to the fifth resolution.

It is said that when the last vote had been taken on the fifth resolution, Mr. Peyton Randolph, who was at that time Attorney-General, was heard to exclaim: "My God, I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote!" This one vote would have evenly divided the House, and with Mr. Robinson's vote, who was in the chair, the last and most vital of these resolutions would have been defeated.

It was in the course of the speech which Mr. Henry made upon these resolutions that he cried out in the frenzy of his eloquence, "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third—" Before he could finish the sentence the Speaker cried out, "Treason!" and from every part of the House the members echoed back, "Treason! Treason!" Mr. Henry faltered not for an instant, but rising to a loftier altitude, he finished his sentence with splendid emphasis, saying, "may profit by their example; if this be treason, make the most of it."

Mr. Henry, apparently well satisfied with his work, and thinking perhaps that it would be better for him to be removed from the scenes of such intense excitement, left the town that evening. The next morning, when he was quite well out of the way, the leaders of the House, who had been unable to stem the tide of the great orator's influence the day before, undertook to undo at least a part of the work that had

been done before, and expunged the fifth and most important of the resolutions, so that the first four resolutions alone remained on the journal of the House as the final official utterance. But the mischief had been done, the alarm had been sounded and the fire kindled.

Mr. Tyler says most eloquently of this incident: "Meantime on the wings of the wind and on the eager tongues of men had been borne past recall, far northward and far southward, the fiery, unchastised words of nearly the entire series, to kindle in all the colonies a great flame of dauntless purpose, while Patrick himself, perhaps then only half conscious of the fateful work he had just been doing, traveled onward along the dusty highway, at once the jolliest, the most popular and the least pretentious man in all Virginia, certainly its greatest orator, possibly its greatest statesman."

For nine years, from the close of the House of Burgesses in 1765 to the fall of 1774, Mr. Henry remained in tolerable seclusion and gave himself earnestly and industriously to the practice of law.

After his return from his first session with the House of Burgesses, he removed his residence to Louisa county and lived on an estate called "Roundabout," which he bought from his father. However, in 1768 he returned to Hanover, and a few years afterwards bought a place called "Scotchtown," which continued to be his residence until, as Governor of the new State of Virginia, he made Williamsburg his home.

There seems to have been during this long period no especial requisitions made upon Mr. Henry's oratorical gifts. He was a conspicuous factor in the numerous conferences that were held by leading men in the colony, but there was small division among them touching the essential matters at stake, so there was little occasion for contention and debate. He was sent to every session of the House of Burgesses dur-

ing this period; present at almost all local committees and conventions; was made a member of the first Committee of Correspondence, and finally was sent as a delegate to the first Continental Congress.

On the 24th of May, 1774, the news of the passage of the Boston port bill having come to the ears of the House of Burgesses, then in session, the following action was taken, setting apart the first day of June as a day of prayer, humiliation and fasting:

"Devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamities which threaten destruction to our civil rights and evils of civil war; to give us one heart and one mind firmly to oppose by all just and proper means every injury to American rights, and that the minds of His Majesty and his Parliament may be inspired from Above with wisdom, moderation and justice to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin."

Lord Dunmore, after considering the matter for two days, summoned the House of Burgesses to the Council Chamber and said to them: "I have in my hand a paper published by order of this House, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon His Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary for me to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

The following day the members of the House, thus summarily dissolved, met at the Raleigh Tavern and passed resolutions deploring the policy pursued by Parliament, and recommended the establishment of an annual Congress, composed of representatives from all the colonies, "to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require."

A call was also issued for a convention of delegates from

Lord Dunmore.

the counties of Virginia to consider matters of interest to the colony and to appoint delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia. A paper was passed by this convention setting forth the grievances of the colony and earnestly urging concerted action on the part of the colonies. They were careful, however, in this paper to express in strong language their loyalty to King George the Third, "our lawful and rightful sovereign," pledging him with their lives and fortunes, support in the legal exercise of all his just rights and prerogatives. This convention adjourned on Saturday, August 6th, and Mr. Henry immediately took up his journey to the meeting of the first Continental Congress. He stopped overnight at Mt. Vernon and enjoyed the hospitality and counsel of George Washington, and next day continued his journey to Philadelphia, having as his fellow-travelers Washington and Edmund Pendleton. Quite a number of the delegates to the Continental Congress had already arrived. The account of the times indicate great interest on the part of the delegates in making the acquaintance of each other.

The convention was organized on the 5th day of September, with Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, as president, and a Mr. Thompson, of Philadelphia, as secretary. Mr. Henry was a most active factor in all the work of this convention, serving on all of its most prominent committees, but there seems to be small ground for the assertion that the convention was at any time overawed with the majesty of his speech and eloquence. The real facts concerning Mr. Henry's relation to this convention do not warrant the statement which is made by Mr. Jefferson many years after the meeting of this convention, "that the superior powers of Patrick Henry were manifest only in debate, and that he and Richard Henry Lee took the undisputed lead in the Assembly during the first days of the session while general grievances were the topic, and that both of

them were completely thrown in the shade when called down from the heights of declamation to that severer test of intelligent excellence, the details of business." Mr. Jefferson throughout seems to have been at special pains to make the impression that Mr. Henry's ability consisted only and solely in his power of declamation, when the real truth is that in all the different conventions in which he met, and in all the conferences held during these exciting times his services as a wise and far-seeing statesman were called more into requisition than the use of his gifts as a speaker and orator. The fact that in all the committees into whose hands were committed matters of most practical importance, Mr. Henry was a member, is a very clear indication of the esteem in which he was held by those bodies.

On Monday, the 20th of March, 1775, the second Revolutionary Convention of Virginia assembled in old St. John's Church, Richmond, Va. It was perhaps at this convention that Mr. Henry's eloquence reached its loftiest plane. It was his speech made on a resolution recommending the immediate raising of a military force, setting forth the fact that such a force would render it unnecessary for the mother country to keep any standing army, and further setting forth the fact that such a force seemed to be peculiarly necessary at that juncture for the protection and defense of the country, and in order to secure inestimable rights and liberties from the further violence with which they were threatened; and finally, that the colony be put immediately into a posture of defense, and that a committee be appointed to prepare a plan for arming and disciplining such a number of men as might be sufficient for that purpose. There was really nothing startlingly new in the general import of these resolutions, for not only in Virginia, but throughiut well-nigh all the colonies, just such military steps had been taken. It has been said that these resolu-

tions, so far from being premature, were rather tardy. It is altogether probable that the only point of disagreement was the urgency and precipitancy of Mr. Henry's resolution. The conservative Virginian was unwilling to give up the hope that there might be some final and peaceful adjustment of difficulties made with England, and the startling thing in these resolutions and in Mr. Henry's speech made in their support was that he had unmistakably given up all hope of any peaceful adjustment, declaring essentially that the war had already begun and the exigencies called no longer for debate or petition or protest, but for immediate belligerent action.

It will be quite impossible to give here anything like an adequate description of this superlative utterance of the great commoner. It is seriously to be doubted whether on any occasion a sublimer height was ever attained by any orator.

The resolution, in spite of the opposition of wise and good men, was passed, and the committee called for was appointed, and Mr. Henry was made chairman. Associated with him were Richard Henry Lee, Nicholas, Harrison, Riddick, Washington, Stevens, Lewis, Christian, Pendleton, Jefferson and Zane.

It took the committee only one day to prepare its plan for enlisting, arming and disciplining the militia, and after laying over for one day for some alteration, the report of the committee was unanimously adopted. The convention adjourned on the 27th of March.

About one month after the meeting of this convention, on the night of the 20th of April, 1775, a detachment of marines from an English schooner, the Magdalen, visited the magazine in Williamsburg, which was the public storehouse for gunpowder and arms, and carried away fifteen barrels of gunpowder and stored them on their own vessel. The news of this depredation spread with alarming rapidity throughout the

colony, and four days afterward a company at Fredericksburg notified their colonel, George Washington, that they were ready with many other bodies of men to appear in support of the honor of Virginia, and at his command would set out for Williamsburg. From other counties there came similar messages to Washington. It had been determined that the 29th should be the day for the march upon Williamsburg. On that day one hundred and two gentlemen, representing the fourteen companies that had offered their services, met for a conference, and after considering a letter from Peyton Randolph assuring them that the affair of the gunpowder would be satisfactorily arranged, came to the conclusion that they would proceed no further at that time, but pledged themselves, however, that they hold themselves "in readiness to reassemble and by force of arms to defend the law, the liberty and the rights of this or any other sister colony from unjust and wicked invasion."

Mr. Henry, who had been a close observer of these exciting events from his home in Hanover county, was greatly disappointed that more aggressive steps were not taken. It seemed to him wise that an immediate blow should be struck, and that the people be reassured of their own strength by some overt act of war. He resolved that he himself would take the field and lead in the delivering of such a blow. He requested, therefore, that the companies of his own county meet him in arms at Newcastle, on the 2d of May, on business of the highest importance to American liberty. With this company he also asked the presence of the county committee. When the meeting was held he strongly urged that immediate action should be taken to march on the capital and either to recover the gunpowder or procure its equivalent. The officer in immediate command resigned, and Mr. Henry was put in charge of the proposed expedition. Many wise and conservative, and even patriotic, men were greatly distressed at this precipitate

procedure, and sent urgent messages asking Mr. Henry that he return home. On the other hand, so greatly stirred were the people that five thousand men from various quarters sprang to arms and sought to become members of the expedition marching on Williamsburg.

At Williamsburg great consternation was felt, and the Governor's family was sent out of the city to a place of safety. An appeal was made to the commander of the English ship for immediate assistance against an invasion that threatened Lord Dunmore with an attack at daybreak at his palace at Williamsburg. Before the final issue was made, however, Governor Dunmore concluded that something had better be done to propitiate the irate Henry. He accordingly sent a messenger to Mr. Henry bearing a sum of money amounting to £330, as compensation for the gunpowder which had been taken from the magazine. The object for which the expedition had gone out having been accomplished, there was nothing to do but that the forces should separate and return to their respective homes.

On the 18th of May Patrick Henry took his place among the delegates to the second Continental Congress, and remained in attendance from the first session of the convention until its final adjournment on August 1st. In this convention, as in the former one, Mr. Henry seems to have been most active in all the practical work of the body. In the accounts of this convention there is again to be discovered a wide discrepancy between the representations made by Mr. Jefferson, as he recalled them forty years afterward, and the real facts of the case. With a very remarkable insistence, Mr. Jefferson persisted in the view that as a practical man Mr. Henry was of very little account in the convention, for he again says "that at the beginning of this convention, when matters in a general way were being considered, Mr. Henry was very conspicuous,

but as soon as they came to specific matters, to sober reasoning and solid argument, he had the good sense to perceive that his declamation, however excellent in its proper place, had no weight at all in such an assembly as that of cool-headed, respecting, judicial men. He ceased, therefore, in a great necessity to take part in the business." Here, again, the records of the convention indicate that on every important committee Mr. Henry had a place, even on the committees that were to address themselves to matters most practical and business-like. While he was a member of this convention he was appointed as commander-in-chief of the forces of Virginia by a convention in session at Richmond, Va., and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the united colonies. Mr. Henry was commissioned as colonel of the First Regiment of Virginia and commander-in-chief of all the forces to be raised for the protection and defense of the colony.

It was in this capacity as commander-in-chief of the forces of Virginia that Mr. Henry met with the only real humiliation of his long career. For reasons that have never been shown to have been inspired by any specific thing in Mr. Henry's military career, it was concluded that he was not altogether a capable commander. Colonel William Woodford was his subordinate and the commander of the Second Regiment. When an expedition was to be sent against Lord Dunmore at Norfolk, the military committee put Colonel Woodford in command. Mr. Henry was exceedingly chagrined at this unmistakable slight, and when, afterwards, Colonel Woodford began to address all communications direct to the Committee of Safety rather than through his nominal commander-in-chief, he was further humiliated; and still more abject his humiliation when it was decided to raise a larger body of troops in Virginia, necessitating the office of a brigadier-general, a commission was made out to Mr. Henry as only colonel of the

first Virginia battalion, whereas by the regular order of promotion he should have been commissioned as brigadier-general. Immediately Mr. Henry resigned his commission and retired from military life.

However patriotic and sound may have been the judgment of the authorities touching Mr. Henry's military capacity, it seems only fair to say that that judgment was reached by an all too insufficient trial of Mr. Henry in the field. He was allowed no opportunity to demonstrate his capacity, whether small or large.

At the close of his brief military experience he returned to his home in Hanover, in March, 1776. The year before his wife had died, leaving six motherless children, and Mr. Henry found great satisfaction in being left alone with them, if only for a brief season. In May he was called from his seclusion to meet with the great convention at Williamsburg. Matters were hastening toward a crisis. It was felt on every hand that the next step must be a formal dissolution of all relations with England. For the first time there seems to have been hesitancy on the part of Mr. Henry. He believed well enough that separation was inevitable, but he felt that before the last step was taken other preliminary matters should be assured and arranged. He wanted to be sure of the posture of France and Spain and of the united action of all the colonies. He was, however, soon won over to the advocacy of immediate action. Perhaps this was due to a letter he had received from Mr. Charles Lee, who importuned him to use his great influence in securing immediate action looking toward final separation. On the 15th day of May, after a prolonged debate, in which Mr. Henry made a most powerful plea for the proposed action, the convention unanimously passed the following resolution:

"That the delegates appointed to represent this colony in

general Congress be instructed to propose to that respectable body to declare the united colonies free and independent States, absolved from allegiance to, or dependence upon, the crown or Parliament of Great Britain; and that they give the assent of the colony to such declaration and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for the forming foreign alliances and a confederation of the colonies at such time and in the manner as shall to them seem best; provided that the power of forming government for, and the regulations of the internal concerns of, each colony be left to the respective colonial Legislatures."

On the 12th of June the committee reported the Declaration of Rights, expressed in sixteen articles, and which the convention adopted unanimously. This document set forth the great fundamental rights that were to be "the basis and foundation of government in Virginia." Mr. George Mason was the author of the first fourteen articles and Mr. Henry the author of the last two—the last of which was most notable because it was the first formal and official assertion and sanction of the doctrine of religious liberty that had ever been given in Virginia.

As soon as the convention had committed the State to separation, action was taken on the appointment of a committee "to prepare a declaration of rights and such a plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in the colony and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people." On June the 29th the plan reported, through Mr. Archibald Cary, was adopted. There was an unmistakable conflict between the democratic and aristocratic elements of the convention. The former came off victorious. The last clause of the Constitution provided that a Governor should be elected by the convention to hold office until the next General Assembly should adjourn. When the ballot was taken it was

found that Mr. Henry had received sixty votes, Thomas Nelson forty-five votes, and John Page one vote. Mr. Henry was declared accordingly elected first Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Mr. Henry entered upon the duties of his office on the 5th of July, 1776. His salary was fixed at £1,000 per year. His elevation to this high office gave cordial and universal satisfaction. From all quarters of the State, and even from other colonies, came congratulations and good wishes. While the Governor's palace, lately vacated by Lord Dunmore, was being renovated and prepared for his reception, Mr. Henry returned for a brief season to his home in Hanover. On his recovery from several weeks' illness, he removed his family to Williamsburg and took up his residence in the Governor's palace. It is said that, greatly to the disappointment of his enemies among the aristocrats, he conducted himself as Governor with great dignity, meeting all the requirements and proprieties of the great office with consummate ease and in most excellent taste.

The scope of this chapter will not permit any detailed account of the remaining years of his life. He was elected Governor three times successively, and doubtless would have been chosen for the fourth time if he had not insisted that he was by the Constitution made ineligible. During the second term as Governor he was married to Miss Dorothea Dandridge, a granddaughter of Alexander Spotswood. Miss Dandridge was by many years the junior of her distinguished husband, but they lived together in great happiness, she proving to be for him during the remainder of his years a most true and loving helpmeet. In 1784 he was again elected Governor. When he removed his family from "Leatherwood," in November, 1784, he took up his residence, not in Williamsburg, but at a place called Salisbury, located on the other side of the James River.

In 1786 he declined another election as Governor, and retired to his home, and undertook by the practice of his profession to build up his fortune, which had become impaired.

Nor can there be allowed any minute account of the charge that he aspired to be dictator, or of the suspicion he rested under by reason of his opposition to the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the Virginia Convention. There is no proof that Mr. Henry ever heard of any scheme to make him dictator, or that he ever dreamed of such a preposterous thing. It is not unlikely, as pointed out by Mr. Tyler, that whatever use there was made of the word dictator was simply in the confiding to the Governor enlarged powers in exigencies demanding unusual and prompt action. His opposition to the adoption of the Federal Constitution was due, not to any change or inconsistency in his views, but simply to his strong insistence that certain rights be more clearly defined, and not left for recognition by implication only. No one believed more ardently than he in a strong and fixed federation of the States, but he sought a union based upon a clear definition of rights. For all the qualities that go to make up a great statesman and orator, perhaps in no other part of his life did Mr. Henry ever make so superb a demonstration of power and capacity as in this great convention.

And there can be permitted only a brief word concerning the part he played in securing the amendments to the Constitution, a task to which he addressed all his great powers most assiduously. He had acquiesced in the adoption of the Constitution with the expressed hope that when the defects he had tried to point out were realized they would be removed by amendment. Through his influence, after a long struggle, the Legislature of Virginia asked Congress to call another convention to which the Constitution should be resubmitted. This Congress refused to do, but suffered ten

amendments to the Constitution, in which was embodied nearly all of the changes desired by Virginia.

When Mr. Henry was fifty-eight years old, and being possessed of a competency, he resolved that the remainder of his years should be spent in peaceful retirement. In 1795 he settled in Charlotte county, on a country place called "Red Hill," and it was from this place he was carried to his grave. In 1796 the Assembly of Virginia again elected him Governor, but he declined the honor of being Governor of Virginia for the sixth time. Strong effort was made to induce him to come out of his retirement. He declined the appointment offered by Mr. Adams "to be envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the French republic," with full powers to effect a treaty with that republic. He did, however, yield to the importunity of Mr. Washington and others, and allowed himself, after a most picturesque campaign, to be again elected to the General Assembly of Virginia in 1799. He was never permitted to take his seat. Early in June of that year he was seized with a fatal illness called then intussusception, now generally know as appendicitis. His end was quite in keeping with the life he had led, simple and dignified, without confusion or fear. When told of his critical condition, and holding in his hand the desperate dose which was the last resort of his beloved physician, Dr. Cabell, he bowed his head in prayer for his family, his country, and his own soul, and then quietly swallowed the fatal prescription. He lingered only a little while, comforting and reassuring his relatives in their distress, and expressing his thanksgiving for having been permitted to serve his country in so many ways. He passed away, bearing especial witness to the support of the Christian religion, on the 6th of June, 1799.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

If Patrick Henry was the prophet of the Revolution, Thomas Jefferson may be considered as the philosopher of the Revolution. On the very day when Henry was making his famous speech in the House of Burgesses, in 1765, in opposition to the stamp tax, the day upon which was really inaugurated the beginning of ostensible opposition to British government, Jefferson, then a student at Williamsburg, was standing against the door-post of the old capitol and heard the burning eloquence of Patrick Henry when he shouted, "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third—may profit by their example." After the speech the young student walked the length of the Duke of Gloucester Street, from the capitol back to the college, a distance of about a mile, pondering over the great things that Henry had spoken, and giving his full consent that the contention of Henry was right and that the people must have a real part in their government. From that day Thomas Jefferson, the especial friend of Governor Fauquier, the Governor whom he was pleased to style as the best Governor Virginia ever had, went to his home, having seen a great light and come to an invincible conviction that all taxation without representation was oppression and tyranny. As a boy he had engraved on his seal "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God," and the utterance of Patrick Henry burned this great principle more deeply into his heart.

It was on May 30, 1765, when the famous resolutions offered and advocated by Patrick Henry were passed by the House of Burgesses. Jefferson was just past the age of twenty-two, having been born on April 13, 1743, at Shadwell, near Charlottesville, Va.

Who was this young man, destined to be so conspicuous in the history of the United States?

So large was his contribution to the foundations of our national government that his name will be forever known wherever republican forms of government exist and wherever political equality is the co-ordinating principle of government.

He was the son of a plain Virginia surveyor named Peter Jefferson. His mother, however, was Jane Randolph, who belonged to the famous Randolph family of Virginia, and which had in its blood a thoroughly good strain of the English gentry, so that Thomas Jefferson's scorn of such things was entirely gratuitous, if not stultifying.

His education began, when he was five years of age, under a private tutor. He afterwards attended a private school, and at seventeen he was prepared to enter college. He was a slender young man, tall, thin and rawboned, with reddish hair and grayish hazel eyes. He was not then regarded as being handsome, but his face showed great intelligence. He grew to be a man of six feet two inches in stature. He was fond of shooting, and was regarded as one of the best horsemen in Virginia. Like Henry, he was devoted to music, and when he rode on horseback to William and Mary College in 1760, he carried with him his beloved fiddle. During his first year at college he did not give himself very industriously to his studies, but spent most of his time in the enjoyment of the various social functions and festivities incident to the gay capital life at Williamsburg. Whenever there was a ball in the Apollo Room at the old Raleigh Tavern, the young stu-

dent from Albemarle was very much in evidence. After his first year at William and Mary, however, he seems to have settled down to honest and steady work, oftentimes studying as many as fifteen hours a day. He was graduated from the college with honor.

He began his study of law under George Wythe, who became the first professor of law at William and Mary College. Mr. Wythe was a prominent figure in all the discussions and agitations incident to the Revolutionary struggle, and in laying the constitutional foundations of the Commonwealth of Virginia and of the united colonies.

Young Jefferson seems to have been on quite intimate terms with many of the professors. He was frequently the guest of Professor Small and Mr. Wythe in their homes, and was often the companion of Governor Fauquier, a gay and accomplished gentleman.

Not far from Williamsburg there lived a rich lawyer named John Wayles, and with him a widowed daughter, Mrs. Martha Skelton. She was very fond of music, and in this particular she and young Jefferson were kindred spirits, and the young man spent many pleasant evenings at her home, "The Forest." On the 1st of June, 1772, they were married, and took up immediately their journey to Jefferson's beautiful estate, "Monticello," about two miles from Charlottesville. The weather was grievously bad, and before they reached the end of their journey they were obliged to leave the carriage and proceed on horseback. They were so belated in their arrival at "Monticello" that they found the fires all out and the servants were away from home. The dark and the cold and the unpropitious welcome at home made a dreary prospect for the young bridal couple. But they were too happy to be disturbed by such externalities, and only joked and laughed at their hard and unusual expe-

rience. They went into a pavilion in the yard and Jefferson found in a book-case some biscuits and wine, which proved to be the only refreshments that the groom could offer to his bride after their long and fatiguing journey.

When the House of Burgesses passed the resolution of 1769, he was one of those who signed the agreement not to import goods from England. He was also a member of the House of Burgesses when, in 1773, it established a Committee of Correspondence between Virginia and the other colonies. It is thought by some that the resolutions calling for such a committee were drawn up by Jefferson, though they were offered in the House by his kinsman, Dabney Carr. Of this committee Jefferson was a member. He was also a member of the House of Burgesses in 1774, and was one of those who voted for the resolution appointing a day of fasting and prayer in view of the oppressive measures which England had inaugurated against the city of Boston. After the dissolution of the Assembly by Dunmore, Jefferson met the following day with the discontented members who assembled in the Raleigh Tavern, and called for a general Congress for the colonies, and requested a convention of the freeholders of Virginia to consider the state of the colony. Jefferson was made a member of this convention, representing the people of Albemarle. He was a member of the Continental Congress that met in 1775. At this time he was a young man of just thirty-two years of age, but had already become widely known as an eloquent writer and a radical Revolutionist.

In the meantime there was great excitement in Virginia, produced by the passage of resolutions offered by Mr. Henry for the arming of the Colony of Virginia, and Virginia was in open and flagrant rebellion against Lord Dunmore. The action of the convention that met at Williamsburg in 1776, in declaring that the colonies should be free and independent

States; in proclaiming its famous Declaration of Rights, and in the adoption of a Constitution for the future government of Virginia, and finally in the election of Patrick Henry as Governor, was received with universal satisfaction. When the first resolutions offered by Pendleton were adopted, the people were wild in their enthusiasm, and amid the ringing of bells and the thunder of artillery the action defying the royal power of England was indorsed with most vociferous unanimity. The resolutions were read to the army in the presence of the general, the Committee of Safety, the members of the convention and a large concourse of people. The soldiers shared the universal delight and satisfaction. They were feasted that night at Waller's Grove, on the outskirts of the town. The city was illuminated with many bonfires. It was hard to realize that old Williamsburg, where so many Governors had lived in royal style, was never again to be the home of a representative of the English government. No more Governor's balls were to be held in the old palace, and no more toasts were to be drunk at the Governor's banquets. Monarchy was dead in the Old Dominion. The Cavalier spirit which upheld Charles the First and his wicked son, Charles the Second had lost all respect for the English crown, and a true spirit of democracy seized hold of the people of Virginia, who were now ready to defy the British lion and to set up a republic in which all the people would be equally free and independent. All honor is due to old Virginia for having laid the basis of republican government in America by the adoption of Pendleton's resolutions favoring an immediate Declaration of Independence.

In harmony with these famous resolutions, and in obedience to the instructions therein contained, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, on the 7th of June, 1776, moved in the Continental Congress, in session in Philadelphia, that "these united colo-

nies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent." Lee would doubtless have been made chairman of the committee to draft a Declaration of Independence but for the fact that he was immediately called home on account of sickness in his family. In his absence Mr. Jefferson, whose facility for writing had become thoroughly well known to Congress, was, by vote, named as chairman of a committee over such men as John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert W. Livingston. To him, as chairman, was allotted the task of drafting that immortal instrument which remains in the history of the world as the most revolutionary political paper ever written.

On the 4th day of July, 1776, the instrument, with little change, as prepared by Jefferson, was unanimously adopted, and to it were affixed the signatures of all the members of Congress then present save one. The principle set forth in that document declared for a government for and by the people, and its full and accurate expression indicates that Jefferson was far ahead of his day, for it is only at the dawn of the twentieth century that we are beginning to appreciate the great and universal truths emphasized by Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson retired from Congress in 1776, and entered the Virginia Legislature with the hope of revising and modifying her laws so that they might be brought into accord with real republican government. Believing in freedom of thought, he did not see how there could be an established church, or how a law could exist whereby preachers of the other faiths could be imprisoned. Jefferson had in mind the preachers of the Baptist faith especially, who had been arrested in Spotsylvania, Caroline, Chesterfield, Culpeper, Orange and Middlesex counties. He remembered how, in Culpeper, a conspiracy was formed to poison one preacher in jail, and how three were tried in Spotsylvania county for preaching the gos-

pel of Christ contrary to the law. Patrick Henry, who was present at that trial, was said to have exclaimed: "May it please Your Worships, what did I hear read? Did I hear an expression that these men whom Your Worships are about to try are charged with preaching the gospel of the Son of God?"

While these unfortunate persecutions existed in Virginia, something like thirty preachers, all told, were imprisoned on the ground that they violated the peace of the community. In addition to the Baptists there were many other dissenters, Presbyterians, Quakers and Methodists. The members of these denominations were strongly republican and very vigorous in the overthrow of English rule in America. Mr. Hawkes, in his history of the Protestant Episcopal Church, tells us that the Baptist preachers advised the young men of their churches to enlist in the Continental army and in the militia of the State.

These independent religious bodies petitioned earnestly the Legislature to disestablish the Church of England. Besides the support of those agreeing with them in religious forms, many of the most prominent political leaders of the State and many devout members even of the established church co-operated with them in this great movement. Among the political leaders who advocated the claim of the independent bodies were Jefferson and Madison. In 1776 Jefferson made a serious effort towards disestablishment. In this he was not altogether successful, and only succeeded in securing a bill which allowed all religious denominations to own their own houses of worship and that their ministers might preach without molestation. It was not until 1785 that the dissenting ministers were permitted to discharge funeral rites or marriage ceremonies. In that year Jefferson's famous bill for religious liberty, introduced and championed by James Madison, passed the Virginia Legislature and established perfect religious freedom throughout the Commonwealth.

Jefferson maintained that the entail and primogeniture systems were incompatible with democratic institutions, and should be abolished. By this system it was provided that the eldest son should inherit the landed family estate, and that the estate could never be sold, and could only pass from father to son and thus be forever retained in the family. This seemed to Jefferson to be the perpetuation of a pure aristocracy, which he believed should not be allowed to exist under democratic forms of government. In the advocacy of these views he met with very strong and stubborn opposition. Among those who were bitterly opposed to the indorsement of his views were many wise and eminent statesmen, among them Edmund Pendleton. Finally, however, the views entertained by Jefferson prevailed, and a bill was passed abolishing the entail and primogeniture systems, and by this act the last remnant of English aristocracy was destroyed in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Mr. Pendleton, who seems to have been the ablest and most violent of the opposers to Jefferson's radical views, afterwards became chief judge of Virginia, being president judge of its Court of Appeals. When, years afterward, the question of the right of the church to certain lands became a matter to be adjudicated, he was prepared and ready to give his opinion in favor of the church. These lands were the property of the State. In 1802 a law was passed ordering the glebes to be sold and the money to be used for the care of the poor. The Episcopal Church, which had been the established church, took the matter into the court, and it came before the Court of Appeals, of which, as we have said, Mr. Pendleton was president judge. It is said that Mr. Pendleton had prepared an opinion favoring the church and declaring the law alienating the lands from the Episcopal Church as being unconstitutional, and ordered that they be restored

to the church. The day set for the delivery of this declaration was the 25th of October, 1803, but only a few days before, Pendleton was taken sick, and died on the very day that he was to have delivered his opinion. The new president judge of the Court of Appeals held a different opinion from Mr. Pendleton, and the glebe lands were sold and never returned to the Episcopal Church.

In the adoption of the Constitution of Virginia and its Bill of Rights, Jefferson had very little to do. At the time that Pendleton's resolutions were carried providing for the Constitution of the State of Virginia, Jefferson was a member of the Continental Congress, but he did not forget to take interest in the affairs of his State, and he sent to Williamsburg a copy of the Constitution and the preamble. His copy arrived too late, as the committee had already acted on the Declaration of Rights on the 12th of June and the Constitution on the 29th of June. George Mason, of Fairfax county, in accordance with Pendleton's resolutions, had been placed upon the committee, and to his pen we are indebted for the Declaration of Rights, often called the Bill of Rights, and also for our first Constitution.

The Declaration of Rights is the groundwork of the government of Virginia. It declares that all men are created equally free and independent; that all power is derived from the people; that government is instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people; that no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive or separate privileges; that all men having common interest in the community should have the right to vote, and that the freedom of the press should never be restricted. It further states "that no free government or a blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people but by firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality and virtue," and "that religion can be directed

only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and, therefore, that all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience, and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity towards each other."

After some debate, the Declaration of Rights was adopted on the 12th of June, 1776, and on the 29th day of the same month the Constitution of Virginia was approved. Thus Virginia became a republic, and if we can believe the accounts that have been handed down, George Mason is entitled to the credit of having written both of these documents, of which every Virginian is so justly proud.

George Mason seems, likewise, to have designed the seal of Virginia, which represents "Virtue, the genius of the Commonwealth, dressed like an Amazon, resting on a spear with one hand and holding a sword with the other, and treading Tyranny, represented by a man prostrate, a crown fallen from his head, a broken chain in his left hand and a scourge in his right." Above the head of Virtue is placed the word "Virginia," and underneath the figure the words, "Sic semper tyrannis."

The preamble to Jefferson's proposed Constitution, however, was so good that it was taken by Mason and made as the preamble to the Virginia Constitution. Hence the preamble of our first Constitution is so similar in thought to the Declaration of Independence, which was adopted five days after Virginia's first Constitution. Jefferson represents the transition from Colonial Virginia to the Commonwealth of Virginia. He was a democrat of democrats. He was opposed to all forms of nobility and to all privileged classes. He was opposed to monarchical government and believed in universal suffrage. He was way ahead of his time, and was even anxious for the abolition of slavery and proposed a plan about

emancipation. His idea was to state a certain year and day, after which all negroes born of slave parents should be made free and should be carried out of the State. In other words, he favored what we have recently heard discussed so much in the papers, the deportation of the negroes from the State.

We should not forget to remember Jefferson's educational plan. He believed that all men should have a voice in the government, but feared that they might give bad rather than good government unless they were educated. He therefore proposed the establishment of primary and high schools throughout the State, with a State university as a capstone. The Legislature adopted his plans, but they were never fully put into operation, and his scheme for the establishment of a university was not accomplished until 1819. He was then an old man and had retired from public life. After various exertions he saw the university established at Charlottesville on broad and liberal plans. He became its first rector, and brought to this country some of the greatest scholars of Europe to instruct the young Virginians. He planned well the institution which was the darling of his old age, for it has not only educated many of the leaders of our State, but has likewise wielded a great influence over the whole South.

From June, 1779, to June, 1781, Jefferson was Governor of Virginia. At this time the State was invaded by the British troops, and Jefferson and the Legislature were forced to flee from Richmond to Charlottesville, from which place they were driven by Tarleton. Jefferson lacked the troops and the money with which to defend Virginia properly, though he did all that lay in his power.

It was at this time that Thomas Nelson so nobly came to the assistance of Virginia. Nelson had been a member of the convention of 1776, and he it was who offered the resolutions that were drawn by Pendleton asking that other delegates of Congress declare the colonies free and independent.

Though Nelson loved England, having been educated there, he had decided that there was but one course for the colonies to pursue. He said: "Having weighed the argument on both sides, I am clearly of the opinion that we must, as we value the liberty of America or even her existence, without a moment's delay declare our independence." He was again made a member of the Continental Congress, and was present on the 4th of July when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. As one of the representatives of Virginia he signed that famous document, together with Jefferson, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, and Carter Braxton.

In 1777, when it was reported that the British fleet was about to enter the Chesapeake Bay, Thomas Nelson was elected commander-in-chief of the Virginia troops. A little later Congress called for volunteers, and Nelson, in response, raised a company at his own expense and marched north to help the Continental Army. In this expedition he spent a great deal of money, for which he was never repaid. When he reached the North, General William Howe, the English commander, had evacuated Philadelphia, so Nelson's troops were disbanded.

In 1779 the English prepared to invade Virginia. Thereupon the Virginia Assembly put the State troops under the direction of Nelson, and tried to raise two million of dollars with which to defend the State. The wealthy men had so little faith in the State government that they refused to lend to it, but General Nelson came to the rescue and subscribed largely of his own fortune, whereupon many persons decided, on Nelson's security, to let Virginia have the money.

In the fall of 1780 Benedict Arnold, the traitor, sailed up the James River and tried to land near Williamsburg, but was driven off by the militia under General Nelson. Arnold then

went up the river to Westover, where he landed some eight hundred men and marched toward Richmond. Nelson, in the meantime, had gone up the James, but reached Westover too late to cut off Arnold, who had proceeded to Richmond and entered the little city. Governor Jefferson and the Legislature having abandoned the city, it was plundered by Arnold's troops, and many of the houses were burned. As Arnold returned down the river he pillaged the country, but for fear of Nelson's troops he retired to Portsmouth. Here the people of Virginia planned to capture the traitor.

A force of two thousand English was sent to Virginia under General Phillips, who occupied Petersburg, to prevent Arnold's being taken prisoner. To meet these English forces, Washington dispatched from his army, then in New York, the young French Marquis de Lafayette, with twelve hundred men. He was joined by about three thousand of the State militia under General Nelson, and attacked the English at Petersburg. Phillips refused to give battle in the field, but remained shut up in Petersburg, a part of which was cannonaded at the command of Lafayette. Phillips was very ill of fever, and while the siege was in progress he died. It is said that he exclaimed on his death-bed, as he heard the roar of cannon, "My God! it is cruel. They will not let me die in peace."

Arnold, who had joined forces with Phillips, now took command of the English, and he sent an officer with a flag and a letter to Lafayette, but the gallant Frenchman refused to have any intercourse whatever with the traitor, and returned the letter unread. Shortly after this Cornwallis arrived in Petersburg, and probably saved Arnold from being captured. Cornwallis, being a high-minded man, was disgusted with the traitor Arnold, and no sooner did he reach Virginia than he gave Arnold a leave of absence to return to

New York City. Thus departed the traitor from Virginia soil.

Since Cornwallis had in Petersburg nearly eight thousand men, Lafayette did not feel able to resist him, and, therefore, he retired to the vicinity of Richmond to await the reinforcements which Washington was sending under General Wayne. When the British commander heard that he was opposed by Lafayette, it was reported that he said, "The boy cannot escape me." But, though only twenty-three years of age, Lafayette was wise beyond his years, and in addition he had the advice of General Nelson. Cornwallis advanced from Petersburg and Lafayette retired by way of Fredericksburg into Culpeper county. A division of troops under Colonel Tarleton was sent to Charlottesville to capture the Virginia Legislature and Governor Jefferson. In this Tarleton failed, Jefferson making his escape on horseback from "Monticello," and the Legislature going across the mountains into the Valley. Soon after this Jefferson retired from the governorship.

In concluding we must say a word about Jefferson's work for the United States. He had done a great work for his State, but he did much, likewise, for the country at large.

He served in Congress from 1783 to 1784; was Minister to France from 1784 to 1789, and was a member of Washington's cabinet, being the first Secretary of State. In the latter position he showed himself a believer in States' rights, claiming that Congress should not legislate about matters which were not expressly provided for in the Constitution of the United States. These views mark him as the founder of what we now call the Democratic party.

After serving one term as Vice-President, he was elected President of the United States, and presided over the affairs of the nation for eight years. During his administration the

incident known as the Louisiana Purchase transpired. This vast domain had been deeded by Spain to France. Napoleon wanted very much to re establish the influence of France in America, but found his hands quite full with affairs nearer home. He was just then greatly concerned and preoccupied in the reorganization of Europe. The next best thing, in order to secure the favor of America, was to dispose of the Louisiana domain to the government of the United States. This he finally did for a consideration of fifteen millions of dollars. Out of this domain has been carved the present States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Montana, Wyoming and Dakota. The treaty connected with this purchase was made in May, 1803. Aside from the vast increase of territory, other very great advantages accrued from this purchase. Had this not been done, this country would have been shut in to one side of the Mississippi River, her Gulf ports would have shut or opened at the caprice of a foreign power, and immunity from dangerous foes would have been indefinitely postponed. The far-seeing wisdom which brought about this result will in itself forever indicate the high quality of statesmanship with which this great Virginian discharged the duties of his great office.

On his retirement from the presidency in 1809, Jefferson went to spend the remaining days of his life at "Monticello." Here he did not remain inactive, but took a deep interest in the affairs of Virginia and of the United States. He was consulted for nearly a quarter of a century by the leaders of the Democratic party, and was spoken of as the "Sage of Monticello." He devoted much thought to education, especially to the university. To his home came travelers, tourists and friends from all parts of the country. His housekeeper often had to provide fifty beds for his guests. Through his generosity and hospitality his fortune of some two hun

dred thousand dollars slipped away, and at the time of his death nothing was left save his estate at "Monticello," and that was loaded with debt. He died on the 4th of July, 1826, just fifty years after the Declaration of Independence had been signed.

A review of Mr. Jefferson's life and work will show him to have been identified as leader or strong advocate of the following great governmental policies and principles: republican government and sovereignty of the people, opposition to privileged orders of nobility and the entail system, universal education and local circulating libraries, separation of church and state, freedom of thought and speech, local self-government, economy of government and small public debt, policy of peace, political equality and universal suffrage, strict construction of the Constitution and sovereignty of the State, a well-trained militia and small standing army, metallic currency of either gold and silver as standard and no paper legal tender, opposition to bounties and monopolies, emancipation and deportation of slaves, expansion of the United States so as to include Louisiana, Florida, Cuba and Canada, a judiciary beyond the control of legislative and executive departments of government, a small navy, opposition to nepotism, rotation in office, and opposition to all secession movements North or South. All of these found clear interpretation and able advocacy by the great mind and strong arm of the great philosopher and statesman.

Jefferson desired to be remembered for three things: as the "Author of the Declaration of American Independence; of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and the Father of the University of Virginia," and these three things place him in the front rank of our great men.

CHAPTER XXV.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, THE SWORD OF THE REVOLUTION.

If it be true that in the evolution of empires there must be a prophet, who shall catch its far away vision; a soldier, whose sword shall carve out and define its boundaries; and a philosopher, who shall give it structural unity, then in the founding of the American empire Virginia furnished a man for the discharge of each of these high functions—Patrick Henry, its frenzied prophet; Thomas Jefferson, its far-seeing philosopher; and George Washington, its incomparable captain. Not, indeed, that these stood alone; others in Virginia and in all the colonies shared their dreams, their high planning and their valorous struggles. Of such Virginians as George Rogers Clark, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, George Mason and Edmund Pendleton these chapters have made mention more or less full. It is the purpose of this concluding chapter to relate the story of George Washington, not unfittingly styled "The Sword of the Revolution."

The Northern Neck of Virginia, composed of Westmoreland, Northumberland, King George, Richmond and Lancaster counties, has a history of which it is justly proud; but Westmoreland county can boast that she gave to Virginia and to our country George Washington, the most conspicuous figure in all our national life. Washington was born on the 22d day of February, 1732. His birthplace was on Bridges Creek, not far from the Potomac River. The house contained

four rooms on the ground floor, an attic with a sloping roof and a large brick chimney. Three years after his birth the family removed to Stafford county, just across the river from Fredericksburg. Here his father, Augustine Washington, died when Washington was only eleven years old, and he was left to the care of his mother, whose maiden name was Mary Ball. She was a woman of strong will, religious and stern, but kind. She was devoted to George, and as he grew to be a man, she was accustomed to say, "George has been a good boy, and he will surely do his duty." She taught her son the principles of truth and honor.

Washington had poor school advantages, but while in Stafford he was taught reading and writing by the sexton of the parish, a man named Hobby. Later he was sent to live with his half-brother, Augustine Washington, in Westmoreland county, in order that he might receive instruction from a Mr. Williams, who conducted a fairly good school. Here Washington learned some mathematics and land surveying. Among the boys Washington was leader both in his studies and upon the playground. He used to divide his companions into armies, one of which he always commanded himself. He excelled his playmates in running, jumping and wrestling.

The two older brothers, Lawrence and Augustine Washington, had been educated in England, where many Virginia boys were sent to school, but on account of the death of his father, George was deprived of this privilege. In 1747, when he was not quite sixteen, he left school and went to visit his brother Lawrence, who resided at Mount Vernon, near Alexandria. Here he met Lord Fairfax, an old bachelor, who had come to Virginia to take possession of his large grant of land across the Blue Ridge Mountains. It was the purpose of Lord Fairfax to send settlers into that region, but before doing so it was necessary that the country should be surveyed. For

this work he found young Washington in every way capable.

Though so young, Washington was robust, nearly six feet tall and well formed, with long arms and big hands and feet. He had light brown hair and grayish blue eyes, and was a splendid type of manly boy. In character, too, he was to be admired, for he was honorable, persevering in whatever he undertook and wise far beyond his years.

In 1748, accompanied by George Fairfax, a kinsman of Lord Fairfax, Washington crossed over the Blue Ridge into what is now Frederick county, Va., where he began his work. For three years he remained as a surveyor. During this time he suffered many hardships. He often slept for weeks at a time on the ground before the camp fire, and often for days at a time his clothes were wet. For his work Washington received a doubloon a day (about eight dollars in our money). Lord Fairfax was so pleased with the account of the Shenandoah Valley that he moved across the Blue Ridge and built a home there, which he called Greenway Court. Here Washington was frequently a visitor, and whenever he had a chance he would read in the library of Lord Fairfax. On the recommendation of his lordship, Washington was appointed by the president of William and Mary College a surveyor of Culpeper county, which then extended across the mountains. He was kept constantly at work, for at this time many Germans were coming into the northern valley, and a surveyor was needed to cut off for each man his tract of land.

Though merely a boy, Washington showed himself a man of ability, as he was able to deal with the Indians, who were constantly wandering through the Valley, without producing conflict or trouble. In 1751 Washington was called to Mount Vernon to the bedside of his brother Lawrence, with whom he remained for more than a year, caring for him in his illness. On the death of Lawrence, George Washington was left as

guardian for his little daughter, and was by the will made heir to the property, in the event of the death of this child. Shortly afterwards, on her death, Washington heired that splendid estate, Mount Vernon, which is to-day the Mecca of American patriots. At this time Washington was only twenty years old, but he was made a major in the Virginia militia, and a year later, by the House of Burgesses of Virginia, it was decided to make four military districts, and young Washington was put in command of the Northern Division of Virginia. At this time the French were pushing into the territory of the upper Ohio River. From the mouth of the Mississippi to the Great Lakes, the French were placing iron posts to mark their boundary and were really claiming all of the country west of the Alleghany Mountains. The Virginians claimed all of these western lands above the 34th degree of latitude, as far west as the Mississippi River. Moreover, as we have previously learned, the Ohio Company had been organized to form settlements in the regions around the headwaters of the Ohio River, and to this company had been granted five hundred thousand acres of land. With the approach of the French into this territory Governor Dinwiddie, who had come to Virginia in 1752, determined that an effort should be made to retain these lands for the Virginians. A commission was therefore determined upon, and for this perilous undertaking George Washington, just twenty-one years of age, was selected. In a freezing spell of weather, in November, 1753, he began his mission, with a small party. He penetrated the woods, reaching an Indian village called Logstown, where he was directed to the French fort on Lake Erie, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Pierre, a French courtier and noble, and courteous man, but the chevalier, though very courteous, was, after all, a soldier, and he knew how to obey orders from his government. When Washington announced to him that his mission was to

request the French to withdraw from the Ohio River and all that region, Chevalier de St. Pierre asked Colonel Washington to convey to Governor Dinwiddie the following reply: "I am here by the orders of my general, and I entreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment but that I am determined to conform myself to them with all of the exactness and resolution that can be expected from the best officer."

Thus the French refused to vacate the territory, and in the dead of winter Washington started back on a perilous journey. The rivers were full of ice and the canoes could not be used in many places in the streams. They had to be carried on the backs of the guides. Such horses as they had were worn out and stumbled in the road. At last Washington, in company with only one person, Christopher Gist, an explorer in the territory west of the Allegheny, set out alone on foot, knapsacks on their shoulders. The ground was covered with snow and the journey was made at a great risk. Near where Pittsburg now stands an Indian guide tried to shoot him, and as he tried to cross the Allegheny River on a raft, he fell into the freezing water filled with ice, and with difficulty kept himself from drowning. He reached a small island on the river and spent the night in a half frozen condition. The next day he found a settlement, secured a horse, and in sixteen days was back in Williamsburg. He made his report to Governor Dinwiddie, and at once the Virginia House of Burgesses determined, if possible, to drive the French out of the northern territory. A regiment of Virginians was raised and placed under the command of Colonel Fry, with Washington as lieutenant-colonel. The troops were slow in assembling, so finally Washington set out from Alexandria with only two companies of troops without Colonel Fry in command.

When he reached Great Meadows, near the Monongahela River, he had an encounter with the French, whose com-

Mount Vernon—The Home of Washington

mander, Jumonville, was killed. Here Washington built a rude fortification, which was called Fort Necessity, and in this he placed his three hundred and fifty Virginians. The French and Indians made a vigorous attack and were repulsed, but when Washington perceived the numbers and realized that ammunition was failing, he decided to surrender the fort, with the provision that his troops, carrying their arms, might quietly return home. This was a bitter disappointment, but Washington did well to get away on these terms, and the Virginia House of Burgesses, recognizing this fact, passed a vote of thanks to Washington and his officers.

The government of England was roused to the fact that if the French occupied the Ohio Valley, the English territory in America would be greatly reduced in area, and at once they determined to disdain the action of Dinwiddie and make an effort to drive the French from the Ohio Valley. In accordance with this purpose, they raised an army of about one thousand men, sent to Virginia under the command of General Braddock. They at once consulted with Dinwiddie and proceeded to Alexandria, on the Potomac River, where his troops were quartered. Here a conference was held with the Governors of five colonies, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. It was decided that these colonies should help in the efforts to drive the French out of America. The English, reinforced by Virginians and Marylanders, were to march to the headwaters of the Ohio River, and capture the strong fort which had been built there by the French, known as Fort Duquesne; after which they were to proceed against the forts of the French along the Great Lakes. The northern colonies were to make a fort on the French settlement, beginning at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and pass up the river, and thus, according to General Braddock, all of the French possessions south of the St. Law-

rence were, by the fall of 1755, to be in the hands of the British. Alas for Braddock! he did not understand the situation. Benjamin Franklin advised with Braddock, and he was unwilling to take the advice of an American who was not even a soldier. Franklin said, "To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, the fort can probably make but a short resistance." Franklin put great stress on the "if." He emphasized afterwards the difficulty of passing through the Indian country. Braddock laughed at the whole thing, and said:

"These savages may be indeed a formidable enemy to raw American militia, but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible to make any impression."

Braddock's movement on Fort Duquesne was very much like that of the march of triumph. He went first in his coach to Greenway Court, where he called on Lord Fairfax; then he passed through the western part of Maryland with bands playing and banners flying. He was disgusted with the roads and swore great oaths when he found out that he could not secure wagons in which to carry his provisions. Colonel Washington modestly informed him that it would be impossible to continue the march of a column with wagons through a wilderness, but General Braddock regarded this as presumption on the part of a "Provincial" soldier. As the English were marching recklessly through the dense wilderness about eight miles from Fort Duquesne they were suddenly fired upon by the French and Indians, who were hid in the woods. Though they formed themselves in their accustomed ranks, crying, "God save the King! God save the King!" they were being killed in numbers when Washington asked Braddock to order his troops to take to the woods and fire from behind the trees in Indian fashion. It is reported that Braddock was very angry with Washington, replying: "What! a Virginia

colonel teach a British general how to fight!" The loss of the Virginia and English troops was heavy, and when they broke it was Washington who gathered up the fugitives and brought from the field Braddock, who had received a mortal wound. Four days later Braddock was buried and Washington read the solemn words of the English burial service at the grave.

Washington returned to Mount Vernon, worn out with his campaign. He wrote to his mother: "If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again I shall, but if the command is pressed upon me by the general voice of the country and offered upon such terms as cannot be objected against, it would reflect dishonor upon me to refuse it." The very day on which he wrote this letter the Governor offered to him the command of all the Virginia troops on his own terms. Washington accepted and established his headquarters at Winchester.

At this time Winchester was a frontier town, being the only one in the northern valley. There were then but two counties, Frederick and Augusta, west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Virginia had fifty-two counties and forty-four towns, though more than half of the latter had not more than five houses. The population of the colony was about two hundred and ninety-three thousand, of whom one hundred and twenty thousand were negroes.

At Winchester Washington was joined by Major Andrew Lewis, the great frontier Indian fighter of the Augusta region. Washington's defense of the frontier proved so effective that soon many settlers came into the Valley, and by 1759 Winchester contained two hundred houses. You have learned in connection with Andrew Lewis that General Forbes undertook an expedition against Fort Duquesne. Washington commanded the Virginia troops and joined General Forbes. It was against Washington's advice that Major Grant, with Major Andrew Lewis, was sent to reconnoitre the country

about Fort Duquesne. When Forbes moved with the main army against the fort Washington requested to be put in the front, and Forbes, remembering Braddock's fate, complied with the request. With his sixteen hundred Virginians Washington led the march to Fort Duquesne. In accordance with his advice, also, the army pushed rapidly forward. As a result, the French were surprised and disconcerted, and abandoned the place. Washington, with his Virginians, was the first to enter this fort, where he planted, with his own hand, the English flag (1758). The works were repaired and named Fort Pitt, in honor of the Prime Minister of England. The French were at last driven from the Ohio region.

The people of Frederick elected Washington a member of the House of Burgesses, though he was not a resident of that county. On taking his seat Speaker Robinson thanked him in behalf of the colony for his service in the wars. Washington rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor, but was so disconcerted as to be unable to articulate a word distinctly. He blushed and faltered a moment, when the Speaker relieved him from his embarrassment by saying, "Sit down, Mr. Washington; your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess."

Just before Washington marched with General Forbes to Fort Duquesne, he was on his way to Williamsburg to make a report to Governor Dinwiddie. When he was within a few hours' ride of the old capital he was hailed by Colonel Chamberlayne, of New Kent county, who took him to dine at his home. As he was anxious to be in Williamsburg by the next morning, he ordered his servant, Bishop, to have his horse ready after dinner. Accordingly, when the noon meal was over, Bishop was seen at the front gate holding his master's horse, but Washington was so captivated by Mrs. Custis that he forgot his urgent business, and left his servant to hold the

horse all the afternoon. At last he rose to go, but his host told him that he was never willing for any of his guests to leave after sunset, and Washington was prevailed upon to spend the night. The next morning Bishop again appeared at the front gate with his master's horse, but it was late in the morning before the start was made to Williamsburg. On his return from Williamsburg Washington stopped to see Mrs. Custis at her home, and before he left she had promised to be his wife.

Some months later they were married at Old St. Peter's Church, in New Kent county. We are told that the Governor came from Williamsburg in his coach and six, and many of his state officials were also present at the marriage. After the marriage the bride and her lady friends were borne to her home, the White House, on the Potomac River, in a carriage drawn by six horses, on which sat negro drivers dressed in uniform. The groom, accompanied by other gentlemen on horseback, rode beside the coach on his fine charger.

Soon after his marriage Washington made his home at Mount Vernon, a fine estate, which he inherited from his brother. He enjoyed the free and easy life of a planter, and when not engaged in the services of his country, he took delight in looking after his plantation. He rode over his farm each day to see if everything was being properly done by his many slaves and their overseers. He lived plainly. Sometimes he would ride out in his carriage with his wife and stepchildren to visit a neighbor or to attend a ball. He was frequently a visitor at the home of George Mason, who wrote the famous Virginia Bill of Rights. At times he went fox-hunting with Lord Fairfax or some of the neighbors. During this period he served in the House of Burgesses. Like other politicians of the day, when election time came on he appeared before the voters and did the usual treating. We are told

that when he was first elected a member of the Burgesses, though only a few hundred votes were cast, he paid for his election with a hogshead and a barrel of punch, thirty-five gallons of wine, forty-three gallons of strong cider and dinner for his friends. The cost in money was £39, 6s. ($200). Jefferson had done the same thing when he was first elected to the Burgesses. It has already been remarked that the people of Orange once failed to elect Madison a member of the Legislature because he would not spend money in treating. Washington was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1765, when Patrick Henry took his seat and offered those famous resolutions against the stamp act. We do not know how Washington voted, but he probably voted with the Conservatives against Henry's resolutions, though he was opposed to the stamp act.

Although England soon repealed the stamp act, she still insisted on the right to tax the colonies, and laid duties upon tea and some other articles which were imported by the colonists. Washington felt that this was an imposition, and he wrote to his friend Mason: "Something should be done to maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. No man should hesitate a moment to use arms in defense of so valuable a blessing is clearly my opinion. Yet arms, I should beg leave to suggest, should be the last resource." In 1769, on account of strong resolutions against the English government, the Governor dissolved the Burgesses. Thereafter most of them met in the Raleigh Tavern and adopted some resolutions, called the non-importation agreement, drawn by George Mason and presented by Washington, agreeing that none of them would import from England tea or any other taxed goods. Washington lived up to this agreement, and would not allow any tea to be used in his own home.

Shortly after this, by act of English Parliament, the Boston harbor was closed, and the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1774. Washington was chosen one of the Virginia representatives to that body, which asked England to repeal her harsh laws against the colonies. Congress adjourned to meet again in May, 1775. Before it assembled the first battle of the Revolution was fought on April 19th at Concord and Lexington, in Massachusetts, and the colonies were in open rebellion against the mother country.

When the second Continental Congress assembled on May 10, 1775, it began immediately to consider what the colonies ought to do, and after a month's time decided to put an army in the field. Against his wish, Washington was elected as commander-in-chief of the American forces. He proceeded at once to Boston, where he was received with shouts and the firing of cannon. On July 3, 1775, he took command of the Continental army.

The story of the Revolutionary War belongs to the history of the United States, and cannot be given here. Sufficient it is to say that from 1775 to 1781, a period of six years, Washington held the English army under check in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. He lost several battles, but never suffered any crushing defeats. By two brilliant victories, one at Trenton and the other at Princeton, he saved the American cause.

His soldiers suffered greatly in the terrible winters, and especially while they were stationed at Valley Forge, near Philadelphia, during the winter of 1777-1778. Though the army had scarcely any clothes, shoes or food, Washington did not despair.

Many of the soldiers had to go barefooted, and they could be tracked through the snow by the blood from their naked feet. Many terrible things were said of Washington,

but he bore them all with a clear conscience and with an uncomplaining spirit, relying upon Providence for final vindication. A story is told that a good old Quaker heard Washington praying in the woods, and went home and said to his wife: "George Washington will succeed. The Americans will secure their independence. I have heard him pray in the forest to-day, and the Lord will surely hear his prayer."

A less brave man would have succumbed to the neglect of Congress, which had ample supplies, but did not furnish the means of sending them to the army. A plot was hatched even to remove Washington from the command, but it failed to carry, and Washington continued to persevere. Through the skill of a German officer, Baron Steuben, the soldiers were kept in constant drill, and when they were out of winter quarters in the spring, they were better disciplined than at any time before.

After two years of waiting, the time came when the final blow should be given. Lord Cornwallis, with an English army, had stationed himself at Yorktown. A French fleet had entered the mouth of York River, and thus an English fleet was prevented from bringing aid. Washington saw the situation and marched rapidly from York to Yorktown, where he found Lafayette and the Virginia troops under Nelson. With Washington was a strong French force under Count Rochambeau. When the army was drawn up at Yorktown it numbered in all twelve thousand men. Gradually the lines of the Americans were moved closer and closer, and each day the English were subjected to a heavy fire. After a siege of three weeks Cornwallis decided to surrender, and on the 19th of October, 1781, the English marched between the Americans and French, drawn up in separate lines, and laid down their arms, while the band played "The World Turned Upside Down."

The war was now at an end, and in 1783 England acknowledged the independence of the thirteen States. During the long struggle Washington had been unselfishly patriotic. At one time the army was ready to declare him King, but Washington sternly rejected such a proposition.

In December, 1783, he bade farewell to the officers of the army in Fraunces's Tavern, New York. To those men who had followed him through the long and dark contest he said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take my leave of you, most devoutly wishing that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." In silence and with tears in his eyes he embraced each officer, after which he walked to Whitehall Ferry and began his journey homeward. He went to Annapolis, Md., where he resigned his commission to Congress, and on Christmas eve, 1783, reached Mt. Vernon, which he had left eight years before to become commander-in-chief of the Continental army.

In 1787 a convention met in Philadelphia to draw up a Constitution for the United States. Washington was one of the Virginia delegates, and was made president of the convention. When the Constitution went into effect, in 1789, Washington was elected as the first President of the United States, having received every vote cast. It was with some regret that he left Mt. Vernon to go to New York, where Congress was then in session. His journey was made by carriage, and all along the road he was received with great delight by a loving people. On reaching New York he was conducted to Federal Hall, where, on the 30th of April, 1789, he was inaugurated President amid the shouts of "God bless our Washington! Long live our beloved Washington!"

It does not fall within the domain of this chapter to treat in detail of his official life as President of the United States.

He entered upon the duties of his office absolutely without enthusiasm, and would have greatly preferred remaining upon his estate at Mt. Vernon through the remainder of his years. The life at Mt. Vernon was utterly congenial to his tastes and aspirations, and it was only the sternest sense of duty that drew him from its retirement and occupations. He wrote in his diary concerning his departure: "About 10 o'clock I bade adieu to Mt. Vernon, to private life and domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York." His career as President was eventful and exciting, filled with many trying and vexatious problems, provoking often the animosity of his nearest friends, called into serious question by many of the wisest and best men of the times, grievously suspected and misunderstood at times by the people, yet through it all he brought his official life to a close, having preserved an untarnished integrity, and having exhibited in every perplexing question and in every great exigency a statesmanship of the highest order.

After eight years of official life, he took up his residence again at Mt. Vernon, giving wise and diligent care to his property and fortunes that had suffered no little by his protracted absence from home. Concerning his manner of living, he answered the inquiry of a friend in the following way: "I begin my diurnal course with the sun, that if my hirelings are not in their places by that time I send them messages of sorrow for their indisposition. Having put these wheels in motion, I examine the state of things further; the more they are probed to the deeps I find the wounds which my buildings have sustained by an absence of eight years; by the time I have accomplished these matters breakfast (a little after 7 o'clock, about the time, I presume, you are taking leave of Mrs. McHenry) is ready; this being over, I mount my horse

and ride round my farms, which employs me until time to dress for dinner, at which time I rarely miss seeing strange faces. The usual sitting at the table, a walk and tea bring me within the dawn of the candle light, previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve, as soon as a glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will repair to my writing table and acknowledge the letters I have received. When the lights are brought I feel tired and indisposed to engage in this work, concluding that the next night might do as well. The next night comes with the same cause for postponement, and so on. Having given you the history of a day, it will answer for a year." Thus pursued he the even tenor of his way, in quiet and dignified and well earned seclusion, responding now and then to such calls of duty as his countrymen might impose, not refusing even to serve as a juryman in his native county when called upon.

On the 12th of December, 1799, while riding over his farm, he was chilled by the keen winds and by the cold rain and sleet that was falling. When he retired that night he was hoarse and cold, and in the night he awoke with a sharp pain in his throat. In the morning a doctor was summoned, and the usual treatment of bleeding and other remedies were applied, but nothing would relieve the trouble, and he died on December 14, 1799. His body lies entombed upon Virginia soil in a simple, but imposing tomb at Mount Vernon. In 1857 the State of Virginia erected to his memory a splendid equestrian statue, which adorns the Capitol Square at Richmond.

It must be forever the unchallenged pride of the old Commonwealth that she gave to the world the peerless commander who was "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen." Devoted to his own native State, he fondly loved all the sisterhood of States, and loved the

union of all the States better than his own life. He was the type not of the Cavalier, nor of the Virginian, but of the unprovincial American, embodying in his imperial character the best that was in both Cavalier and Puritan, in warm Southerner and stern New Englander. Right truly of him, therefore, wrote James Barron Hope in his centennial ode at Yorktown in October, 1881:

"He knew not North, nor South, nor West, nor East:
Childless himself, Father of States he stood,
Strong and sagacious as a Knight turned Priest,
And avowed to deeds of good.

"So his vast image shadows all the lands,
So holds forever Man's adoring eye,
And o'er the Union which it left it stands,
Our Cross against the sky!"